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QUEEN OF THE MISSIONS

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ST. BARBARA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

The Missions and Missionaries of California

New Series. Local History

SANTA BARBARA MISSION

BY

Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O. F. M.

Author of "Missions and Missionaries," "Franciscans in California," "Franciscans in Arizona," "Holy Man of Santa Clara," "San Diego Mission," Etc.

"Colligite quae superaverunt fragmenta, ne pereant." Joan, vi, 12

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PREFACE

Santa Barbara, during the Mission Period, and counting from south to north, was the headquarters of the second military district of California. The garrison here provided the guards for the five Indian Missions under its protection—San Fernando, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, Santa Inés, and Purisima Concepcion. Owing to the proximity of the presidio, which gradually developed into the city of Santa Barbara, the history of the Mission will necessarily include the principal events in the life of its neighbor.

As in the case of the author's larger works, the material for this local history was chiefly drawn from documentary sources not accessible to the general public, in order to secure the accurate information so much desired by the lovers of authentic history. At the head of these fountains of historical knowledge stand the *Santa Barbara Mission Archives,* for the sake of brevity quoted in the footnotes as *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Mr. H. H. Bancroft, "beginning about the middle of June, 1876, and continuing with few interruptions to 1878," as he himself relates, had most of these priceless documents transcribed. His transcript, by no means complete, fills twelve folio volumes in the Bancroft Collection at the University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

The next source of importance, as regards Mission History, is the collection of Spanish documents designated *Archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco,* for short termed *Archb. Arch.* in the references. This treasure consists of 2560 letters from missionaries and civil or military officials. They were collected at Monterey by the painstaking Alexander S. Taylor of Santa Barbara, and in 1860 donated to St. Mary's Library Association, San Francisco, which had them bound in seven large folio volumes and delivered to Archbishop Alemany. Mr. Bancroft, by special permit, copied what suited his purpose, and this incomplete transcript fills three folio volumes in the Bancroft Collection.

The third place must be accorded to the *California Archives,* the richest fountain for the general history of California. This Spanish aggregation of all sorts of official civil, military, and ecclesiastical papers, in 289 leather-bound volumes, besides eleven volumes in flexible leather, was closely guarded at the United States Land Surveyor's Office, San Francisco, until April, 1906, when the great conflagration destroyed the invaluable treasures. Happily, the insatiable collector of historical records, H. H. Bancroft, during 1876-1877, had the most important documents copied and excerpts made of countless other papers. This transcript and the excerpts, as to bulk about one-tenth of the original archives, fill the sixty-nine folio volumes which constitute the *California Archives* at the State University, Berkeley.

During the year 1904, through his own labors and by means of copyists, the author secured from the original *California Archives* the most important documents concerning the Missions. He was thus enabled to compile the history of the Missions and Missionaries independent of Bancroft and other collectors, save in minor details, which are credited to the respective writers.

A very valuable collection of Spanish material are the *De la Guerra Papers,* notably the Correspondence Portion, which consists of about 800 personal letters. Most of these were addressed to Captain José de la Guerra by the missionaries laboring in the Santa Barbara military district.

The Mission Registers and, in our case, the Parish Registers of Santa Barbara, surpass in value all other documents, wherefore they are described in separate chapters.

It is hardly necessary to remark that the numerous and costly engravings were selected for their historical value in order to illustrate the narrative and to picture accurately the Mission and Mission activities at the various stages of the Mission's existence.

The author gratefully acknowledges himself indebted to his Superiors for defraying the cost of publishing this volume and for kindly endeavoring to facilitate his work; to the Rev.

Jesuit Fathers for permitting the frequent use of the Parish Registers; to Miss Delfina de la Guerra for the loan of historical documents; to Hon. Grant Jackson of Los Angeles for the Fremont and McNamara papers; to Mr. Edward Borein for the cover design; to Fr. Charles Knebel, O. F. M., Fr. Felix, O. F. M., and Fr. Angelus, O. F. M., for preparing illustrations; and to Fr. John Baptist, O. F. M., for cheerful assistance in various ways.

In conclusion, the author confesses to daydreaming these many years about a drama for every one of the Missions, as each has its peculiar features and tragedy not unmixed with comedy. He scarcely hopes to see the project realized, but he fondly believes that Santa Barbara will awaken to its magnificent opportunities and facilities for enacting a glorious stage play. In fact, between the covers of this volume there is material for several dramas that would thrill and fascinate the beholder powerfully. Such a production, performed annually about the date of the discovery and the naming of the Channel and the founding of the Mission, December 4, would prove an irresistible attraction. Santa Clara has already taken the lead and is drawing thousands of people to witness its dramatic performance. An intelligent playwright with noble aims and aspirations should be discovered who would undertake the laudable task in full sympathy with the lofty ideals of the missionaries, and who would disdain to cater to the prurient or to inject anything the Old Padres abhorred and the innocent must shun. Can such a dramatist be found? *Quis est hic, et laudabimus eum.* At all events, it would be worth while for the Queen City or for some public-spirited citizen to offer a prize in order to secure a most beautiful, effective, and truly historical interpretation of the local past.

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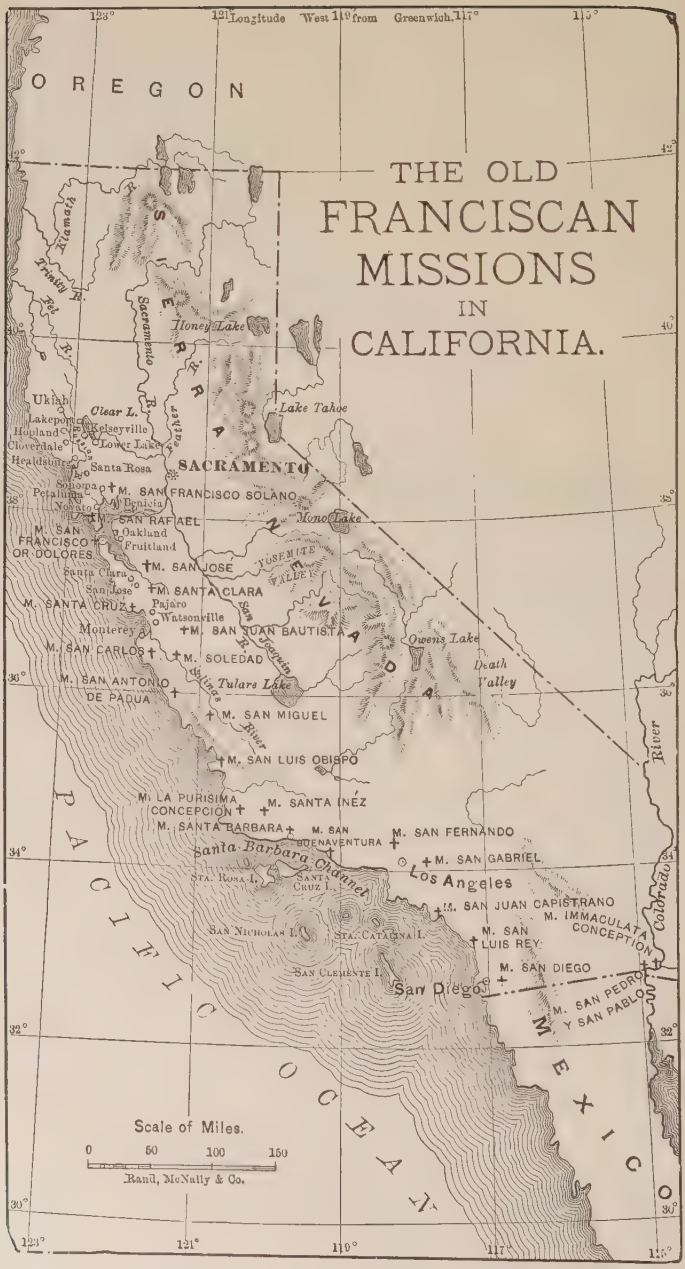
SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT
III
SANTA BARBARA MISSION
(1782 - 1865)


THE OLD
FRANCISCAN
MISSIONS
IN
CALIFORNIA.
Longitude West from Greenwich.
OREGON
Klamath R.
Trinity R.
Eel R.
SIERRA NEVADA
Sacramento R.
Honey Lake
Clear L.
Lake Tahoe
Ukiah
Lakeport
Kelseyville
Highland
Cloverdale
Lower Lake
Healdsburg
Santa Rosa
SACRAMENTO
Sonoma
Petaluma
Novato
M. SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO
Benicia
SAN RAFAEL
Mono Lake
M. SAN FRANCISCO OR DOLORES
Oakland
Fruitland
M. SAN JOSE
YOSEMITE VALLEY
Santa Clara
San Jose
M. SANTA CLARA
M. SANTA CRUZ
Pajaro
Watsonville
Monterey
M. SAN JUAN BAUTISTA
San Joaquin R.
Owens Lake
Death Valley
M. SAN CARLOS
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M. SAN MIGUEL
Colorado River
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M. SANTA INÉZ
M. SANTA BARBARA
M. SAN BUENAVENTURA
M. SAN FERNANDO
M. SAN GABRIEL
Santa Barbara Channel
Los Angeles
STA. ROSA I.
SANTA CRUZ I.
M. SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO
M. IMMACULATA CONCEPTION
SAN NICHOLAS I.
STA. CATALINA I.
M. SAN LUIS REY
SAN CLEMENTE I.
M. SAN DIEGO
San Diego
M. SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 150
Rand, McNally & Co.

CHAPTER I.

Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's Expedition.—Indian Rancherías Along the Channel Shore.—Indian Habits.—Homes.—Language.—Point Concepcion.—Cabrillo Suffers a Mishap.—Storms.—Discoveries.—Winters on San Miguel Island.—Dies There.—Directions to Ferrelo.—Voyage Continued.—Vessels Separated.—Furious Storms.—Novel Vow.—Saved.—Return to Navidad.

ONLY fifty years after Christopher Columbus had discovered the Atlantic Coast of America, another no less intrepid navigator, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, with the two ships *San Salvador* and *Victoria* sailed up the Pacific Coast, and entered the watercourse which has become famous the world over as the Channel of Santa Barbara. "Both vessels were smaller than any of our coasting schooners. They were poorly built and very badly equipped. Their anchors and ironwork were carried by men from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific. They were manned by conscripts and natives, were badly provisioned, and the crews subject to that deadly scourge of the sea, scurvy."[1]

The commander of the expedition, Cabrillo, a Portuguese by birth, was then in the service of Spain. His chief pilot was Bartolomé Ferrelo. The voyage of exploration began on June 27, 1542, at Navidad, about twenty miles above Manzanillo, Mexico. On September 28, the eve of St. Michael's Day, Cabrillo discovered a land-locked port which he named San Miguel, but which has since become known as San Diego Bay. Continuing up the coast the vessels on October 10 arrived off the site of the later Mission San Buenaventura. Here the commander landed a second time and took formal possession for the Crown of Spain. Naming the populous Indian village on the place Las Canoas, on account of the many canoes possessed by the natives,

[1] Davidson in Prof. Bolton's *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 5-6.

Cabrillo on October 13 proceeded to enter our channel. From this out it will be expedient to let the interesting *Diary of the Voyage* relate Cabrillo's movements along this part of the coast.

"On Friday, the 13th of said month of October," the Diary reads, "they left the town of Las Canoas to continue their voyage, and sailed this day six or seven leagues,[2] passing the shores of two islands, each of which must be four leagues long and about four leagues from the mainland. They are uninhabited, because they have no water; but they

CABRILLO'S FLAGSHIP.

have good ports. The coast of the mainland trends to the west-northwest. It is a country with many savannahs and groves. On the following Saturday they continued on their course, but made no more than two leagues, anchoring in front of a magnificent valley densely populated, with level land and many groves.[3] Here canoes came out to barter with fish. The Indians were very friendly.

"On the following Sunday, the fifteenth of said month, they continued on their course along the coast for about

[2] To the Rincon, latitude 34 degrees and 22 minutes.

[3] Off Carpinteria, latitude 34 degrees and 24 minutes.

ten leagues.[4] All the way up there were many canoes, for the entire coast is very densely populated, and many Indians kept boarding the ships. They pointed out the rancherías and told us their names. They are Xucu, Bis, Sopono, Alloc, Xabaagua, Xocotoc, Potoltuc, Nacbuc, Quelqueme, Misinagua, Misesopono, Elquis, Coloc, Mugu, Xagua, Anabuc, Partocac, Susuquey, Quanmugua, Asimu, Aguin, Casalic, Tucumu, and Incpupu.

"All these towns are between the first pueblo of Las Canoas, which is called Xucu, and this point. They are in a very good country, with fine plains and many groves and savannahs. The Indians go dressed in skins. They said that in the interior there were many pueblos, and that there was much maiz three days' journey from there. They call maiz Oep. They also said that there were many cows;[5] these they call Cae. They told us also of people who were bearded and clothed.[6]

"This day they passed along the shore of a large island[7] which must be fifteen leagues long. They said that it was very densely populated and that there were the following rancherías: Niquipoa, Maxul, Xugua, Nitel, Macamo, and Nimitapal. They called this island[8] San Lucas. From here to the town of Las Canoas it must be about eighteen leagues. The island must be about six leagues from the mainland.

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[4] Four or five miles west of Point Goleta and eleven miles west of Santa Barbara lighthouse, in latitude 34 degrees and 25 minutes.

[5] Elks, probably, which abounded.—It is to be observed that the letter X in the names, likewise the letter J, is to be pronounced like H, or rather like the German Ch, or the Greek X.

[6] Fr. Marcos de Niza, O. F. M., in 1539, and again with Coronado's army in 1540, passed through Arizona. The California Indians, doubtless, had the information from the Mojaves, who frequently visited the coast. Likewise, the Indians on the Colorado had maize, whilst none was raised on the coast.

[7] As they overlapped one another, Cabrillo thought the three were one.

[8] i. e. the three which he imagined but one.

"On Monday, the sixteenth of the said month, sailing along the coast, they made about four leagues and cast anchor in the afternoon in front of two pueblos.[9] All this day, likewise, many canoes came with the ship and made signs that farther on there were much larger canoes.

"On the following Tuesday, the seventeenth of the said month, with favorable winds, they made three leagues.[10] Many canoes went with the ships from daybreak and the captain kept giving them many presents. All this coast which they have passed is very thickly settled. The Indians brought for them many fresh and very good sardines. They say that in the interior there are many pueblos and that food is abundant. They ate no maize. They were dressed in skins, and they wore their hair very long and tied up with long strings interwoven in the hair; to the strings they attached gewgaws of flint, bone and wood. The country appears to be very fine.

"On Wednesday, the eighteenth of said month, they proceeded along the coast until ten o'clock and found that the whole coast was populated; and because there was a fresh wind and canoes did not come to them, they drew near to the headland that forms a cape like a galley and named it Cape Galera. It is in 36 degrees, full.[11] Because a strong northwest wind struck them, they stood off shore and discovered two islands, one large, probably about eight leagues long from east to west, the other about four leagues. They are inhabited, and in this small one is a good port. They are ten leagues from the mainland. They are called the Islands of San Lucas.[12] From the mainland to Cape Galera the coast runs west-northwest."

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[9] Off the Cañada del Refúgio in 34 degrees and 27 minutes.

[10] To anchorage of Gaviota Pass, latitude 34 degrees and 28 minutes.

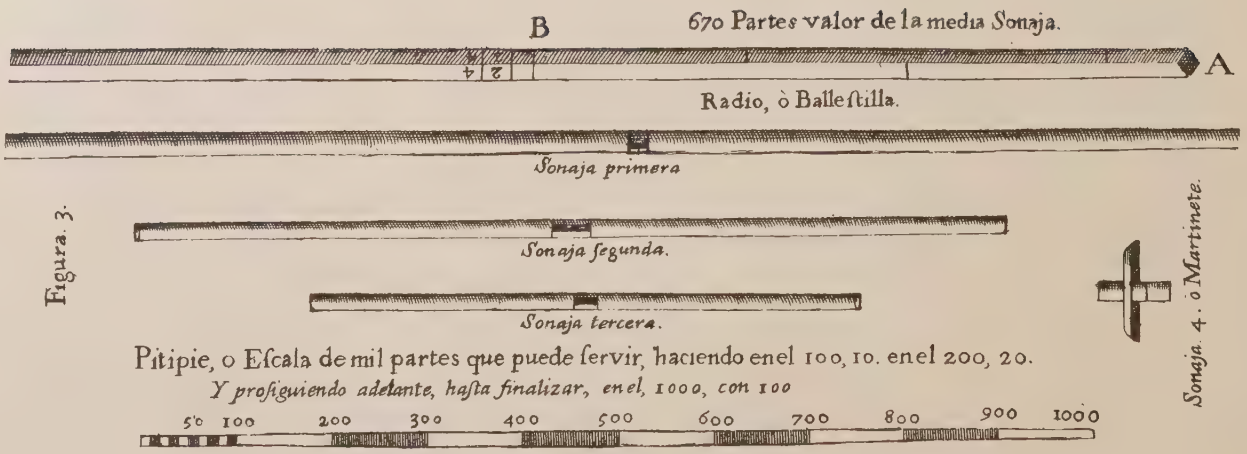
[11] Point Concepcion, in latitude 34 degrees and 27 minutes.

[12] The first of these is now known as San Miguel Island, while the other was in fact two distinct islands, which today are known as Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa.

From the Narrative of the voyage it is clear that Cabrillo anchored seven times in the Santa Barbara Channel, namely, at Las Canoas (San Buenaventura), Rincón, Carpintería, Point Goleta, Cañada del Refúgio, Gaviota Pass, and on October 18th at Cape Galera or Point Concepcion. The Narrative remarks that the district from the pueblo of Las Canoas to Cape Galera is densely populated; that many languages distinct from one another are spoken; that the Indians have bitter wars with one another; and that the distance is thirty leagues. At Cape Galera the real difficulties began. Storms compelled the two ships to take refuge on a little island opposite Cape Galera. Here they waited till October 25th for the storms to subside. Meanwhile Cabrillo took formal possession in the name of the King of Spain, and from that circumstance named the island La Isla de la Posesion and the harbor La Puerta de la Posesion. It is now San Miguel Island, and lies in 34 degrees and 3 minutes. Its area, according to Davidson's Coast Pilot, is fourteen square statute miles. The harbor is known as Cuyler's Harbor on the northeast face of the island. While here Cabrillo fell and broke an arm which for lack of expert treatment finally caused his death.

"On Wednesday, October 25th, the expedition left the harbor, but made little headway because there was no wind. The following night the ships were struck by a wind from the southwest accompanied by rain which put them in peril because it was an on-shore wind and they were near land, and they were unable to double the cape. At vespers the following Thursday the wind drove them off-shore to the south. . . . That night they held out to sea because the wind was on-shore, and on Friday, Saturday and Sunday they sailed with contrary winds, beating about from one side to the other, without being able to make headway."

In this manner the unfortunate sailors under their heroic leader, who must have been suffering excruciating pains from his broken arm, were driven about the coast off Point Concepcion until early in the morning of All Saints' Day,


B
670 Partes valor de la media Sonaja.
A
Radio, ò Balleſtilla.
Sonaja primera
Figura. 3.
Sonaja ſegunda.
Sonaja tercera.
Sonaja. 4. ò Martinete.
Pitipie, o Eſcala de mil partes que puede ſervir, haciendo enel 100, 10. enel 200, 20.
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INSTRUMENTS FOR CALCULATING LATITUDE. THEY WERE DEFECTIVE, AND THEREFORE THE CALCULATION USUALLY RESULTED IN FIGURES THAT WERE FROM ONE TO TWO DEGREES TOO HIGH.

when they sought refuge under Cape Galera (Point Concepcion). "There they cast anchor," the Narrative continues, "and went ashore. Although there was there a large Indian pueblo, which they call Xexo,[13] because wood did not appear to be close at hand they decided to go to the pueblo of Las Sardinas where water and wood were close and handy. This shelter under Galera they called the port of Todos Santos (for the day).[14] On the following Thursday (All Souls' Day) they went to the pueblo of Las Sardinas,[15] where they remained three days, taking in water and wood. The natives aided them and brought the wood and water to the ships. This town at the port of Sardinas (Gaviota Pass) they call Cicacut; the others, between there and Cape Galera, are Ciucut, Anacot, Maquinanoa, Paltatre, Anacoat, Olesino, Caacat, Paltocac, Tocane, Opia, Opistopia, Nocos, Yutum, Quiman, Micoma, Garomisopona. The ruler (*La Señora*) of these towns is an old Indian woman, who came to the ships and slept two nights on the captain's ship, as did many Indians. The town of Ciucut appeared to be the capital of the rest, for they came there from other towns at the call of this ruler. The town which is at the cape they call Xexo. From this port to the pueblo of Las Canoas is another province which they call Xucu. Their houses are round and very well covered clear to the ground. They wear skins of many kinds of animals. They eat oak acorns, and a seed the size of maize. It is white, and from it they make tamales; it is a good food. They say that in the interior there is much maize, and that men like us are going about there."

Incidentally the Narrative notes that the Indians along the channel appeared very friendly. "They have in their pueblos large plazas, and have an enclosure like a fence; and around the enclosure they have many blocks of stone

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13 Indian village at El Cojo anchorage.

14 El Coxo anchorage in 34 degrees and 28 minutes.

15 So called on account of heavy draught of sardines. It was situated at Gaviota Pass in latitude 34 degrees and 27 minutes.

set in the ground, and projecting three palms above it. Within the enclosures they have many timbers set up like thick masts. On these poles they have many paintings, and we thought that they worshipped them, because when they dance they go dancing around the enclosure."

Notwithstanding his broken arm, the heroic commander and his brave crews in their frail vessels set out from La Posesion on November 6th, but made little headway until Friday, 10th. On Saturday, the 11th of November, they sailed up the coast naming the Sierras de San Martin and Cape San Martin (Point Pinos) for the day. They are now called Santa Lucía Mountains. That night a severe storm arose and separated the *Victoria* from the *San Salvador.* Cabrillo continued the cruise up the coast, but missed the Bay of Monterey, Point Año Nuevo, the Golden Gate, and Drake's Bay. On November 14th land was sighted near Northwest Cape (Cabo de Pinos) in latitude 38 degrees and 31 minutes, near the later Russian Fort Ross. This was Cabrillo's farthest point north.

On Wednesday, the 15th of the said month, they sighted the consort, whereupon they heartily thanked God, for they had thought her lost. They made toward her, and in the afternoon they joined company. Those on the other ship (*Victoria*) had experienced greater hardship and risk than those of the captain's ship, since it was a small vessel and had no deck. On Thursday, November 16th, they discovered what was later known as Drake's Bay, but which they called Bahia de los Pinos, in latitude 38 degrees. Continuing southward they named the Sierras Nevadas and Cape Nieve, and finally went to shelter at La Posesion on November 23d.

"Passing the winter on the island of La Posesion," the Narrative relates, "on the 3d of the month of January, 1543, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, captain of the said ships, departed from this life, as the result of a fall which he suffered on said island when they were there before, from which he broke an arm near the shoulder. He left as captain the chief pilot, who was one Bartolomé Ferrelo, a

native of the Levant. At the time of his death he emphatically charged them not to leave off exploring as much as possible of all that coast. They named the island the Island of Juan Rodríguez.[16] The Indians call it Ciquimuymu; the next they call Nicalque (Santa Rosa), and the next Limú (Santa Cruz). On this island of La Posesion are two pueblos, one called Zaco and the other Nimollollo. On the next island (Santa Rosa) are three pueblos, one called Nichochi, another Coycoy, and another Estocoloco. On the third island (Santa Cruz) are eight pueblos, namely Niquesesquelua, Poele, Pisquno, Pualnacatup, Patiquiu, Patiquilid, Ninumu, Muoc, Pilidquay, and Lilibeque.

"The Indians of these islands are very poor. They are fishermen, and they eat nothing except fish. They sleep on the ground. Their sole business and employment is fishing. They say that in each house are fifty persons. They live very swinishly, and go about naked."

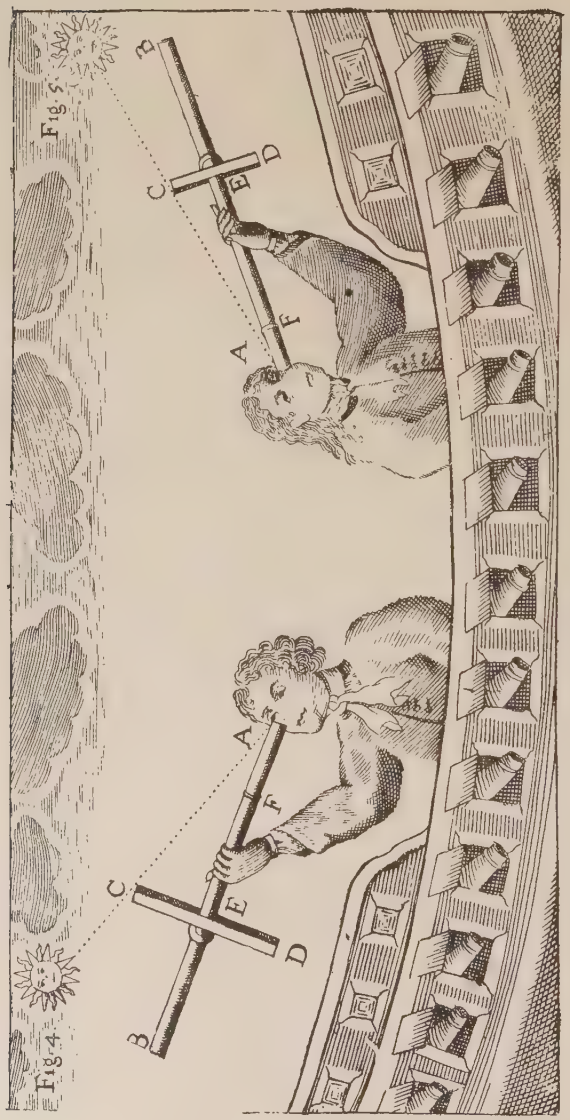
"The three centuries and more[17] that have elapsed have witnessed great changes in the appearance of the island of San Miguel, evidently then well populated. It has become barren and desolate in the extreme by reason of the drifted sand, which lies on it to the depth of many feet and which will doubtless always preserve the secret of Cabrillo's grave."[18]

As directed, Ferrelo took charge of the expedition, but on account of violent winds the vessels remained in port till January 19th. Then they set sail, but were forced to take refuge on the island of Limú (Santa Cruz) which the navigators now called San Salvador. At last, February 18th, they could leave the island of San Salvador with a favorable northeast wind. This day, too, a Sunday, one of the sailors died. Despite contrary winds the ships, on February 28th, had reached what the Spaniards thought was

16 i. e., San Miguel Island, or La Posesion.

17 Just 380 years as we write.

18 Henshaw, H. W., in *Spanish Explorations*, p. 33.



MANNER OF TAKING THE LATITUDE.

latitude 43 degrees, which Davidson corrects to 41½ degrees. "On Thursday morning, March 1st," the Narrative relates, "the wind shifted to the southwest with great fury, the seas coming from many directions, causing them great fatigue and breaking over the ships; and as they had no decks, if God had not succored them they could not have escaped. Not being able to lay to, they were forced to scud northeast toward the land; and now, thinking themselves lost, they commended themselves to our Lady of Guadalupe and made their vows. Thus they ran until three o'clock in the afternoon with great fear and travail, because they concluded that they were about to perish, for they saw many signs that land was near by, both birds and very green trees, which came from some rivers, although, because the weather was very dark and cloudy, the land was invisible.[19] At this hour the Mother of God succored them by the grace of her Son, for a very heavy rainstorm came up from the north which drove them south with foresails lowered all night and until sunset the next day; and as there was a high sea from the south it broke every time over the prow and swept over them as over a rock. The wind shifted to the northwest and to the north-northwest with great fury, forcing them to scud to the southeast and east-southeast until Saturday, March 3d, with a sea so high that they became crazed, and if God and His blessed Mother had not miraculously saved them they could not have escaped. On Saturday at midday the wind calmed down and remained in the northwest, for which they gave heartfelt thanks to our Lord. With respect to food they also suffered hardship, because they had nothing but damaged biscuits."

On March 5th, 1543, the two ships reached San Miguel Island, but dared not enter the harbor on account of the storms. The *San Salvador*, indeed, became separated from

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19 "They were probably in latitude 42 degrees and 30 minutes (their farthest north), abreast of Rogue River, Oregon." Davidson, in *Spanish Explorations*, p. 37.

her consort, and took shelter in what is called Smuggler's Cove, Santa Cruz Island, according to Davidson. The *Victoria,* in the meantime struck some shoals at San Miguel Island, and the crew thought they would perish. In this extremity the sailors in their simplicity made a novel vow, doubtless to express how they at the time had been stripped of everything but their bare lives. They promised the Blessed Virgin that, if she would deliver them from the imminent death, they would make a pilgrimage to her nearest church, and wear nothing but their trunks.[20] She did save them, and on reaching their country they complied with their vow. The *San Salvador* waited at Las Canoas (San Buenaventura) on March 8th and 9th, and at Bay San Miguel (San Diego), for the *Victoria,* and then sailed south to the Isle of Cedros, where the lost vessel at last reappeared, to the great joy of all. Finally they again arrived at the starting point, La Navidad, on Saturday, April 14th, 1543.[21]

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[20] The Spanish term is *en carnes,* which literally means "naked," but here could not mean absolutely nude, as Davidson wonders, rather like sprinters or wrestlers in the arena.

[21] See for text and notes Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest,* pp. 13-39.

CHAPTER II.

Survivors of the San Agustin.—Expedition of Vizcáino.—Fr. Torquemada's Account.—In Santa Barbara Channel.—Portola's Expedition.—Fr. Juan Crespi's Account.—At San Buenaventura.—At Carpintería.—Site of the Later Santa Barbara.—The Indians.—Indian Huts.—The Country.—Indian Cemeteries.—Gaviota.—Return of Portolá.

IT WAS not till the latter part of the year 1595 that the waters of Santa Barbara Channel were again disturbed by a foreign craft. In that year the Spanish galleon *San Agustin*, in charge of Captain Sebastian Cermeño, was wrecked in what the survivors named San Francisco Bay, but which is known as Drake's Bay. With the planks of the wrecked vessel the sailors built a *viroco*, a small craft without deck. It had one or two square sails and was propelled by sweeps. Its hull was formed from a single tree, hollowed out, and having the sides built up with planks. In such a frail vessel the men could not venture out upon the ocean, so they came down the coast. The weather must have been favorable throughout or no one would have been left to tell the story of the hardships endured. The passengers huddled together in the flimsy structure were Captain Cermeño, Francisco de Bolaños, the pilot of the ill-fated *San Agustin*, and about seventy men. When the vessel reached La Navidad all went ashore, except the navigating officer Juan de Morgana, four Spanish sailors, five Indians, and a Negro. These brought the frail bark to Acapulco on January 31st, 1596. "The vessel being so small, it seems miraculous that she should have reached this country with so many people," the custom officer reported on February 1st, 1596.[1]

The pilot of the *San Agustin*, which was wrecked in Old

[1] See for details *The Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, 33-35.

San Francisco Bay, Francisco de Bolaños, again reached California, but this time as a member and guide of the expedition of Sebastian Vizcáino. This navigator, in command of the three ships *San Diego, Santo Tomás,* and *Tres Reyes,* sailed from Acapulco on May 5th, 1602, in order to

SPANISH GALLEON OR TRADING VESSEL.

survey the west coast of North America. The expedition reached San Miguel Bay, so named by Cabrillo, on November 10th, 1602. Vizcáino named the bay for the saint of the day on which he landed, November 12th, and for his flagship, *San Diego.*

On Monday, December 2d, the expedition arrived at the

head of the Channel of Santa Barbara. Three Carmelite Fathers accompanied the expedition. They were Fr. Andrés de la Asumpcion, Fr. Antonio de la Asencion, and Fr. Tomás de Aquino. The account of Sebastian Vizcáino, and even that of the chronicler, Fr. Antonio de la Asencion, are very meagre on the subject that would interest us most. "The same evening (Monday, December 2d)," Vizcáino writes while off the site of San Buenaventura, "the northwest wind freshened so well for us that we sailed more than fifteen leagues, but between islands and with no little anxiety and danger, since we knew not where we were going; and the next morning we found ourselves hemmed in between islands and mainland. Tacking back and forth on the 4th of said month, we were struck by a heavy northwester, with a high sea, and were obliged to take off the bonnets and run with lower sails, so that we became separated from one another."

The Franciscan historian, Fr. Juan de Torquemada, is more explicit. He writes: "On December 2nd, the fleet left the island (of Catalina) for the purpose of discovering others. They followed a row of islands which lay in line and order four and six leagues one from the other. Some are large and others are small, and all are filled with gentiles and all on these islands traffic with one another. The distance from the first of these islands to the last one may be one hundred leagues. They follow one after the other on the same line with the coast of the mainland. As there are so many and they are so large and connected, the ships that come from the Philippines to New Spain (Mexico) always think these islands constitute the mainland; wherefore they always sail away from them. As we have said, however, they are not the mainland, but islands very much populated by gentiles. Between these islands and the mainland there is a very good and in places a wide passage. The distance is twelve leagues, in other places ten leagues, and the most narrow part may be eight leagues. This pass was called the

Channel of Santa Barbara.[2] Its course runs between east and west."

On December 3, the navigators stopped off San Buenaventura. They were welcomed by the Indians through their chief, who wanted them to come on land. Vizcáino promised to do so on the next day; but, Torquemada relates, "within an hour after the Indian had departed, a southeast wind arose, which, during their whole voyage, they had not experienced.[3] As the wind struck them in the rear, the general and the officers thought it wise to improve the opportunity; and to see, on their return, what the Indian had said. So the ships set sail, and in that night navigation was very pleasant and fast. It was at seven o'clock in the evening of December 3d, the first Vespers of Santa Barbara, when the wind began and it lasted till eight on the following day. By that time the vessels were already near the last islands of the channel, of which there are six, about two leagues distant from one another. The channel must be more than twenty-four leagues long. The coast of the mainland is very beautiful and covered with trees; and all along the country has a large population of Indians.

"In the night of the feast of Santa Barbara, a strong northwest wind arose which caused plenty of toil and affliction, because it was night and among the islands and in the channel the sea became very wild. Even greater was the danger of perishing on some island, owing to the fact that there were many. In addition, the storm lasted throughout the night and the two following days. On the feast of St.

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[2] "Llamose este pasaje el Canal de Santa Barbara." This is the first mention of the name in the history of the coast. *Monarquia Indiana,* lib. v, p. 713, col. 2.

[3] As a rule, they had been sailing against the wind. To this day, navigators experience the same difficulty on their way up. This was the reason, too, why in former times vessels from the Philippines would first sail north to Japan, then cross over to Cape Mendocino, and then come down the coast before the wind.

Nicholas (December 6), the storm ceased and the ships proceeded by little and little."

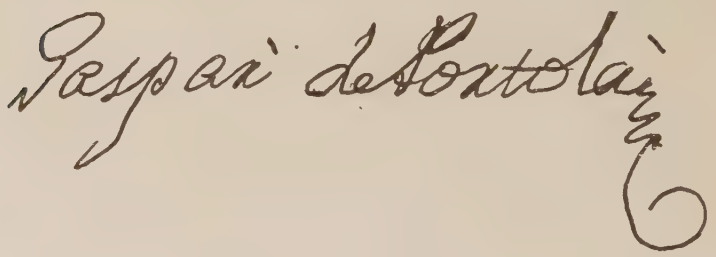
It is probable that on their return voyage, in the month of April, 1603, the ships of Vizcáino passed through the channel. Neither Torquemada nor Vizcáino, however, say anything more than that the ships reached Acapulco on March 22, 1603. Whether other navigators subsequently visited the channel has not been recorded. All along the coast of California, for the next 166 years, the Indians therefore continued their miserable existence in the darkness of savagery and paganism.

On Monday, August 14, 1769, Captain Gaspár de Portolá, heading an exploring party of sixty-five men, accompanied by the two Franciscan friars, Juan Crespi and Francisco Gómez, arrived at the head of Santa Barbara Channel and camped on a site which they named Asuncion de Nuestra Señora and near which, thirteen years later, Mission San Buenaventura was founded. The expedition left this place on the following day, the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and camped near a rancheria two leagues farther on. The Indians were exceedingly kind to the white strangers and brought them more fish than they could eat. "All through the night," writes Fr. Crespi, the chronicler of the expedition, "these Indians molested us and kept us awake by playing on their weird flutes or pipes, so that it was necessary for the sentinels to be well on their guard. I named the rancheria Santa Gertrudis."

"Wednesday, August 16.—We set out at about half past six o'clock," Fr. Crespi continues, "following the westerly course that leads to the seacoast. At a distance of two leagues, we came to another village, larger than the one of Asuncion, for we counted about sixty huts, well-built and constructed like those of the first village, spherical in shape and thatched with grass. This village has a good creek with fresh running water that empties into the sea; but before it empties into the sea, its course is obstructed by small hills, thus forming as it were an estuary. The Indians are very

kind and gentle. We noticed that they had seven canoes which were out on the ocean fishing. . . . One of the chiefs of this village had been at Asuncion when we passed there and he was now foremost in extending courtesies to us. He is a man of good stature and regular features and a great dancer. For this reason the soldiers named this village El Pueblo del Ballarin; but I called it Santa Clara de Montefalco. The banks of the creek are studded with willow, alder, and live oak.

"Thursday, August 17.—At half past seven o'clock we left this place and traveled toward the west. We ascended some



gently sloping hills, which had good pasture land, but which at the seacoast ended in a steep precipice, although between the hills and the seacoast there is a stretch of sand dunes. We may have proceeded about a league and a half when we came to a neck of land which, together with the point on which Santa Clara de Montefalco is situated, forms the beach into a kind of bay. On this neck of land we found thirty-eight huts, all of the same shape as those previously described. A few were large enough to accommodate many families. On the outskirts of the village, all the inhabitants were waiting for us. Their number was not less than of those at Asuncion. We went to the ranchería to greet them, and the commander presented the chief with some beads. We pitched camp not very far from the ranchería in a plain of very rich, black soil. It was about one league in length from north to south and three leagues in width from west

to east. This place abounds in willow, cottonwood, alder, and it has a few live oaks. It has a fair supply of firewood, and the sierra to the north is very high. In some places the sierra seems to have a supply of firewood; but in others it looks barren.

"My companion (Fr. Gómez) went to examine a creek that coursed from the north. He says it has a good flow of water at the foot of the mountain. The soldiers and scouts told us of another large ranchería of gentiles. Not very far from this village we came upon some springs of pitch. The Indians here possess a large number of canoes and they were just building a new one; wherefore the soldiers called this ranchería Carpintería, whilst I named it San Róque. It is only about one league distant from the foregoing (Santa Clara de Montefalco). The gentiles brought us a greater number of fresh, dried, and broiled sardines than has been offered us at any of the other rancherías. Opposite this place an island could be distinguished; but owing to the fog it was impossible to make out which one it was.

"Friday, August 18.—We left the place at seven o'clock in the morning, traversing the plain already mentioned toward the west and near the beach. The chief of the ranchería which we had left and the one of the village from which he came last night with the scouts, accompanied us, as also, attracted by his example, a large number of Indians, all in the happiest and gayest mood. After traveling for a league we came to the ruins of a ranchería, and the gentiles told us that about three months before the Indians of the sierra had come down and killed all the inhabitants. Two leagues and a half farther on we came to another ruined village, which had suffered the same disaster. In this locality are a few springs which supply the rancherías with water. During this day's journey of four leagues we noticed bear tracks. We traveled about four leagues to a large ranchería, much larger than any of the foregoing. It was situated near a large neck of land that projected into the sea. With some difficulty we forded a large lagoon, crossing it near the ranchería, and

pitched camp at a distance of about two musket shots from the ranchería. Shortly after our arrival the Indians came to present us with seven large bundles of fish. In return we gave them glass beads, and they departed quite satisfied. After a little while, the canoes which had been out fishing came back; and all the Indians, old and young, returned to our camp with fresh fish, of which alone we obtained about four mule loads. The generous donors, more than five hundred in number, of both sexes, remained with us almost the entire day. In the neighborhood of this ranchería is a spring with very good water; and near the camp we found a big lake which in all probability is not the result of rainfall, but owes its being to a spring it has in its center. On the table lands of this locality are many large live oaks. We called this village Laguna de la Concepcion.[4] On account of the fog no observations could be taken. From here the islands can be seen.

"Saturday, August 19.—Our only object in traveling today was to get rid of so many people. We crossed the table lands toward the west and ascended to a dry creek which is plentifully studded with alders and live oaks. Then came another plain with rich, black soil. Here we stopped, having made only one-half league and left the beach to one side, bound by cliffs and high mountains. We pitched camp in a cañada having running water which the sand absorbs, however. Not far from its source is the cañada, all covered with live oaks and alders. On the surrounding heights are scattered a few pines. We received some visitors from a ranchería, which undoubtedly must be in the vicinity. The scouts who had gone out this morning returned in the evening and reported that they had come across some extensive and densely populated villages and that they had been well received. The gentiles arrived unarmed during the night, for the purpose of guiding us the next morning to their ranchería. We granted them permission to stay near

[4] They were in the vicinity of the present courthouse of Santa Barbara.

our camp until daybreak, but placed them in charge of sentinels whom they entertained till daybreak.

"Sunday, August 20.—At eight o'clock, after Holy Mass, we resumed our journey, traveling across the plain to the west, over a level road, lying between the sierra and some hills which stretch along the seacoast. The soil is good, covered with grass and studded with live oaks, alders, willows and many rose bushes. After covering a distance of about three leagues, we came in sight of a long neck of land. Toward the west is an estuary, having two different outlets, distant about half a league one from the other. The estuary is bounded on the north by quite an extensive island. On this island, rich in verdure and groves, we saw a large town, in which we counted more than a hundred huts. The estuary spreads out toward the west, forming swamps and small lakes, on the banks of which other villages are situated. The exact number of these we could not ascertain. Some of our soldiers stated that there were four, or rather five, including the one on the island, which apparently is the largest. To arrive at the watering place, near which we established our camp, we had to pass through one of these villages, and shortly the gentiles of all the towns came and brought broiled and dried fish, acorns, gruel, and different kinds of cooked food, which they begged us to accept. The expression on their faces showed clearly the satisfaction which our arrival and stay in their country afforded them. The commander made these people a present of beads and ribbons, with which they were highly pleased, while the soldiers traded with them, securing several curios in the shape of reed bowls, feather work, and skins. All the country, along the road as well as beyond the camp, is exceedingly pleasant, abounding in pasture and covered with live oaks, willows, and other trees, which demonstrates the fertility of the soil and its adaptability for producing whatever one may wish to plant. It appears that these gentiles are well provided with everything, but principally with fish of all kinds; for they carried into our camp such an enormous quantity that

"THE DANCES LASTED ALL THROUGH THE EVENING."

we were obliged to tell them not to bring any more because the fish would spoil.

"They were not satisfied with spreading food before us, but also desired to amuse us. One could notice the mutual strife and rivalry among the different villages to excel in their gifts and sports, in order to merit the approval of our people. Toward evening, the chiefs of each town came, one after the other, all in their finery of paints and feather ornaments, holding in their hands split reeds, the motion and noise of which served them to keep time in their chants and dances. This they performed so well and so uniformly that it sounded very harmonious. The dances lasted all through the evening, and we had a hard time ridding ourselves of them. We dismissed them, begging them by signs not to come back during the night and trouble us; but in vain. As soon as darkness had set in, they returned, blowing horns, the infernal noise of which was sufficient to tear our ears to pieces. As we were afraid our horses would stampede, the commander, with his officers and some soldiers, sallied forth to meet the Indians. They gave them some beads and endeavored to impress on them that they must retire, and that in case they returned and disturbed our sleep, they would not be our friends and we would not receive them well. This sufficed to induce them to depart and leave us in peace during the remainder of the night.

"The soldiers called these villages Mescaltitan and the other, Los Pueblos de la Isla, while I named them in honor of Santa Margarita de Cortona. I took the latitude and found them to be in 34 degrees and 43 minutes. In this ranchería, as well as in others of the channel, and even before coming to this locality, we noticed that the gentiles had cemeteries. They explained to us that one was for the men and the other for the women. On each grave was a high pole, painted in different colors. From the poles that surmounted the graves of the men hangs their hair, which undoubtedly is cut from the corpse before it is buried, while from the pole on the graves of the women swing wicker

baskets. In these cemeteries we saw also piles of bones of whales and a basin hewn out of stone, which could be used as holy water or baptismal fonts. We paid special attention to two small and very cleanly kept inclosures, one of which we were told is used as a play ground, while the other is reserved for religious ceremonies. From the village of Asuncion, which is the first on the channel, the coast with very little variation runs west-northwest, and in the immediate vicinity of the estuary straight to the west.

"Monday, August 21.—We left the place at two o'clock in the afternoon and, proceeding westwardly along the coast, journeyed for two leagues in sight of the sea, over high hills. . . . We passed through a grove of live oaks and arrived at the watering place, which is a creek situated within a cañada. On the banks of this rivulet and extending down to the beach, is a ranchería of more than a thousand souls. We camped on the right bank of the cañada, not very far from the ranchería, the inhabitants of which immediately came to greet us, bringing as gifts a large quantity of fresh and dried fish. These Indians, not wishing to be outdone in courtesy by their neighbors, also celebrated dances in our honor. Some of our people thought that, instead of being only one, this ranchería really consisted of two, adjoining each other. We called them San Luis Obispo. I took the latitude, which gave me 34 degrees and 45 minutes.

"Tuesday, August 22.—On this day we rested, in order to give our scouts an opportunity to explore the country. From this place we distinguish two islands, a small one to the south, and a large one to the southeast.

"Wednesday, August 23.—We left at half past six o'clock, in order to profit by the low tide. We marched for about a league along the beach; and for the remainder of the journey, three leagues, our road took us along high and rugged cliffs. . . . We pitched camp on the left bank of an arroyo. As soon as we arrived the gentiles visited us and brought fish and seeds, in exchange for which the commander gave them beads. The Indians also danced for our

amusement. We named these rancherías in honor of San Guido de Cortona. We saw four canoes, but the Indians told us that they owned fifteen; that four had gone to the islands, which were the four that could be seen from this place. In this rancheria, as also in the others of the channel, we noticed a few gentiles who were very sleek and clean and wore the dress of women, using petticoats of buckskin. We could make out neither what this meant nor the purpose thereof. Time and their language, when once we understand it, will clear up this mystery.

The mystery was cleared up later, but not to the credit of the Channel Indians whom modern writers are fond of lauding as having very much advanced before the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries. Sodomy was practiced here, a vice not known to the most degraded of tribes of the northeast. Let the reader turn to the report on the Indians of San Miguel Island a few pages back.

"Thursday, August 24.—On this day, the feast of San Bartolomé, we two priests celebrated holy Mass, early in the morning and in the presence of all the people. Then we set out in a westerly direction. . . . After journeying about two leagues we came to a cañada into which an estuary of the sea extends. On its border we found a ranchería of fifty-two huts, which, to judge from the people we encountered, must contain about three hundred Indians, who regaled and welcomed us like those of the foregoing rancherías. Firewood is scarce, and to procure water it is necessary to go quite a distance up the creek which courses through this cañada and to which the high tide does not reach. We called this place San Luis, Rey de Francia, while the soldiers remembered it as La Gaviota, because they had killed a seagull there. I took the latitude and found it to be 34 degrees and 47 minutes. An Indian of this ranchería took such a liking to us that he is accompanying our expedition. He is of great service to us, and will also be useful in the other rancherías. From this place we could see the last three islands of the Santa Barbara Channel;

namely, San Bernardo, farthest west, Santa Cruz, the next eastward, and Santa Barbara, the farthest toward the east. The Indians of this ranchería have seven canoes, which are out fishing. Some of them are quite large.

"Friday, August 25.—On this day we started at half past three in the afternoon, passed the estuary and continued along the beach, which runs toward the west. It took us about four hours to cover a distance of two leagues across a high and very rugged country, bordering on the ocean. At one place, owing to its precipitous eastern slope, further progress became impossible, and we had to take the road by the beach, picking our way over the wave-washed stones that lay scattered along the foot of a rocky ledge and afforded passage only at low tide. This ledge or precipice is about a quarter of a league long. We scrambled to its highest part and there found an Indian ranchería of twenty-four huts, having a population of about two hundred souls. I named it in honor of San Zeferino. Like all the others of their race, these Indians received us very kindly. Being within a cañada, this place has a rather dreary aspect. . . . We are in sight of the two islands. The north wind which we had here and in our last camp was very cold. I took the latitude and found it to be 34 degrees and 50 minutes.

"Saturday, August 26.—We resumed our journey at half past three in the afternoon. Descending to the ranchería and following the estuary, which runs toward the west, we crossed table lands with rich soil and plenty of grass, until we arrived at the seacoast, which is wider here, because the land is more at a distance. After traveling for half a league along the beach, we came to a ranchería of twenty huts, whose inhabitants, like the rest of the channel population, live by fishing. We noticed three canoes thus engaged. The Indians were very docile. We called this locality La Ranchería de Santa Ana."[5]

Here, as far as the Santa Barbara Channel is concerned,

[5] Palóu, *Noticias*, vol. ii, pp. 135-149.

the diary of Fr. Crespi ends. On their return march, the explorers passed over the same road, but they stopped to celebrate holy Mass on two days only, namely, at San Zeferino, on January 6, and at Gaviota Pass, on Sunday, January 7. In the following year, 1770, Portolá once more led an expedition up the coast in search of Monterey Bay. They traversed the site of the future Santa Barbara at the end of April or in the beginning of May. We have no particulars, however, concerning this expedition. As the locality of Santa Barbara lay on the highway from the southern Missions to those in the north, various military expeditions would pass up and down this region. Where they pitched camp, whether in the vicinity of the present city of Santa Barbara, is not known.

CHAPTER III.

Fr. Junipero Serra's First Appearance.—Colonel Juan B. Anza.—Fr. Serra Plans Missions on the Channel.—Founds Mission San Buenaventura.—Plants Cross for the Presidio Site.—Administers the Sacrament of Confirmation.—Title Page of the Baptismal Register.—Site of the Presidio.—Its Structure.—List of Soldiers Forming the Garrison.

IT WAS about September 6, 1772, on his way from Monterey to San Gabriel, that Fr. Junípero Serra, in the company of Commandante Pedro Fages, reached the site of the present city of Santa Barbara for the first time. He passed this way again about May 1, 1774, on his way from the Capital of Mexico to Monterey. Regarding these two journeys, however, we have no details. His third appearance in this locality occurred in the latter part of December, 1776, on his way to Monterey. It may be mentioned also that Fr. Francisco Palóu, the biographer of Fr. Serra, in company with Fathers José Murguia, Tomás de la Peña, and Juan Prestamero, journeyed by here in October, 1773.

A noteworthy event in the history of Santa Barbara occurred on April 15, 1774, when Captain Juan Bautista Anza passed here, accompanied by the Franciscan Fr. Juan Díaz of Querétaro, and escorted by eight soldiers. He had been commissioned by the viceroy to ascertain if direct communication between the Capital and Monterey by way of Sonora was practicable. By the end of the month he was back again, having established the feasibility of the plan. Thereupon, having been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, Anza was directed to lead an expedition of colonists with their families from Sonora to San Francisco Bay. Accompanied by the Franciscan Fr. Pedro Font of Querétaro as chaplain, he and his company passed by here at the end of February, 1776. It was on this occasion that the first white women came to California. By April 25, Colonel Anza

FR. JUNIPERO SERRA, O. F. M.

and Fr. Font, together with an escort of soldiers, were back again on their return to Sonora.

Between Mission San Luis Obispo and Mission San Gabriel there was a wide gap, which Fr. Serra proposed to close up by founding three intermediate Missions on the Santa Barbara Channel. He explained the project to Governor Felipe de Neve and showed him that, in order to establish communication between the missionary establishments of the north and those of the south, the erection of three Missions and of a presidio on the channel was necessary, to say nothing of the spiritual welfare that would accrue to the savages who inhabited this district. Neve agreed with the zealous Fr. Presidente and recommended the plan to the viceroy in June, 1777. For some years, however, various occurrences delayed the execution of Fr. Serra's cherished plan.

Meanwhile, the Fr. Presidente was empowered by the Holy See to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. He immediately exercised his authority at Mission San Carlos, and then set sail for San Diego to begin there his first Confirmation tour through the Missions. On his way north he passed along the Santa Barbara Channel and, as Fr. Palóu notes, his heart bled at sight of the thousands of Indians between San Gabriel and San Luis Obispo, who as yet were excluded from sharing the benefits that the neophytes of the Missions enjoyed. This was in November, 1778.

At last, in February, 1782, Governor Neve, who was at San Gabriel at the time, notified Fr. Serra that he was then ready to proceed with the founding of the Channel Missions. The happy Fr. Presidente could not have received more agreeable news. He hastened south from his Mission of San Carlos and about March 15, we learn from Fr. Palóu, "he journeyed along the Santa Barbara Channel and rejoiced to find there so many pagans, upon whom the light of our holy Faith was about to dawn. He tried to win their favor and showed them kindness, giving them to understand that he would shortly return, this time not simply as a visitor,

but to live among them. The news seemed to please them very much."[1]

That same year, Easter Sunday, March 21, he founded Mission San Buenaventura, and remained at this place till about the middle of April, when Governor Neve arrived. Leaving Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon in charge of the newly founded Mission, the Fr. Presidente set out with the governor and the troops, who were to constitute the presidio of Santa Barbara. "They traveled by way of the shore of the channel opposite the islands that form this channel. After marching about nine leagues, they came to a place which they judged to be about half way to the end of the channel. Here the governor ordered the troops to halt. Then with the Fr. Presidente and some of the soldiers he explored the region and found a very favorable site for the presidio within view of the beach, which here forms a bay where vessels might anchor and where there was a large Indian village. The governor gave orders that camp be pitched in a suitable place; whereupon they began cutting timber for the large Cross, for the little structure to be used as chapel, and for the altar. On the following day, it being a Sunday, the venerable Fr. Presidente blessed the site and the Cross, which was then set up and venerated. He also celebrated the first holy Mass, which the governor, the officers, and all the soldiers attended. Thereupon his Reverence preached an eloquent sermon. The ceremonies concluded with the formal taking possession of the site, not the slightest opposition being made on the part of the natives."

In his *Noticias*, Fr. Palóu offers some details of the event. He writes: "The expedition set out from the Mission of the Seraphic Doctor (St. Bonaventure) in April, leaving as guard for the Mission fifteen leather jacket soldiers with a sergeant. On the same day they reached the spot called, since the first expedition, San Joaquín de la Laguna. It is ten leagues distant from the Mission of San Buenaventura

[1] *Vida*, chap. lii.

and not very far from the beach, in 35 degrees and a few minutes. The presidio was established away from the beach and ranchería, at a good distance from the laguna on the edge of a grove of live oaks. It is said that the place looks dismal and that it has but little water. The first holy Mass was celebrated in an arbor after the surroundings had been blessed and the Standard of the Cross had been raised, which function the Fr. Presidente had to perform alone. He remained in that place until the day he set out for Monterey and after writing to Fr. Cambon to come up to the new presidio of Santa Barbara in order to celebrate holy Mass for the troops, because the founding of the Mission would not yet take place."[2]

In a letter to Fr. Lasuén, the Fr. Presidente himself gives the following account of his share in the founding of the Santa Barbara presidio: "On the feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph[3] occurred the blessing and erection of the large Cross, the blessing of the site, the first holy Mass with a sermon, and the founding of this Mission-Presidio of Santa Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, in the country of Yamnonalit. I was and I am alone. Hence there was only a low Mass, and in place of the *Te Deum* the *Alabado* was chanted, which is equivalent to the *Laudamus*. May God bless it. Amen. Mission-Presidio of Santa Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, April 29, 1782."[4]

What followed we shall let Fr. Palóu relate. "The day after the solemn founding," he writes, "they began to cut wood to construct the chapel, the dwellings of the Father and of the officers, the barracks, the store houses, and the dwellings for the married soldiers. The stockade also was built. The venerable Father remained here quite a while, until the governor told him that he would not proceed to the founding of the Mission before the presidio was completed.

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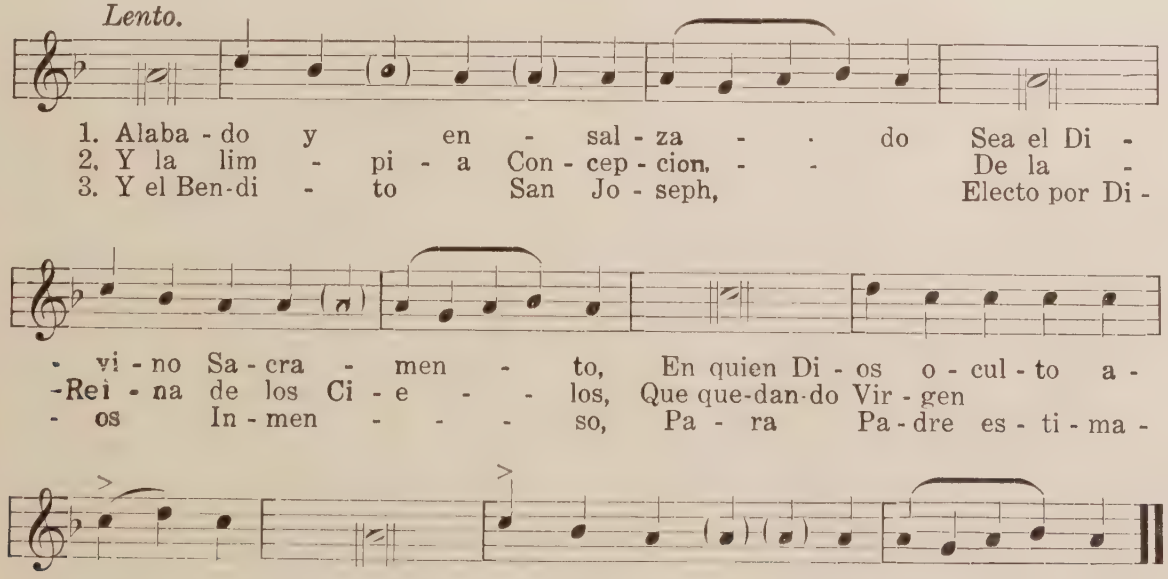
[2] *Vida*, chap. liii; *Noticias*, vol. iv, pp. 241-242.

[3] The feast was celebrated on the third Sunday after Easter, in that year on April 21.

[4] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

Alabado.


Lento.
1. Alaba - do y en - sal - za - · do Sea el Di -
2. Y la lim - pi - a Con - cep - cion, - - De la -
3. Y el Ben-di - to San Jo - seph, Electo por Di -
- vi - no Sa - cra - men - to, En quien Di - os o - cul - to a -
-Rei - na de los Ci - e - - los, Que que-dan-do Vir - gen
- os In - men - - - so, Pa - ra Pa - dre es - ti - ma -
sis - te De las Al - mas el sus - ten - to,
Pu - ra, Es Madre del Ver - bo E - ter - - no.
- ti - vo De su Hi - jo el Di - vi - no Ver - bo.

On hearing this his Reverence said: 'In that case, Señor, since I am not needed here, seeing that the Mission is not to be founded, I propose to go to Monterey, because it can not be very long before the transport vessels arrive. From there I will send down a Father; and in the meantime, in order that all these people here may not be without holy Mass and without a spiritual adviser, I will call hither one of the missionaries of San Juan Capistrano. This plan was carried out; but before going, he confirmed all those among the troops who had not previously received the holy sacrament. He left the garrison of Santa Barbara full of joy at having seen the Mission of San Buenaventura founded after so many years of long waiting."[5] In his own personal Confirmation Register, Fr. Serra makes no mention of having confirmed here on this occasion. Perhaps Fr. Palóu was thinking of the visit which Fr. Serra made to Santa Barbara on November 23, 1783.

Before leaving, the Fr. Presidente arranged the Registers for the presidio, which were kept apart from the Mission books. They consisted of the Baptismal, Marriage, and Death Registers. The title page of the Baptismal Register reads: "Blessed be Jesus, Mary, and Joseph! Book I of Baptisms, in which are contained the entries of those who were baptized in this new royal presidio of Santa Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, under the administration of the Rev. Missionary Fathers Apostolic of the holy College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando, Mexico, of the Order of our holy Father Saint Francis of the Observance, FOUNDED at the expense and by order of the Catholic King of Spain and the Indies, Don Carlos III (whom God prosper eternally), in New (Upper) California, on the mainland of the channel of the same name by the religious of said College, the present guardian being for the second term the Rev. Fr. Lector Francisco Pangua; COMMENCED on the third Sunday after Easter, the feast of the Patronage of the

[5] *Vida*, chap. liv.

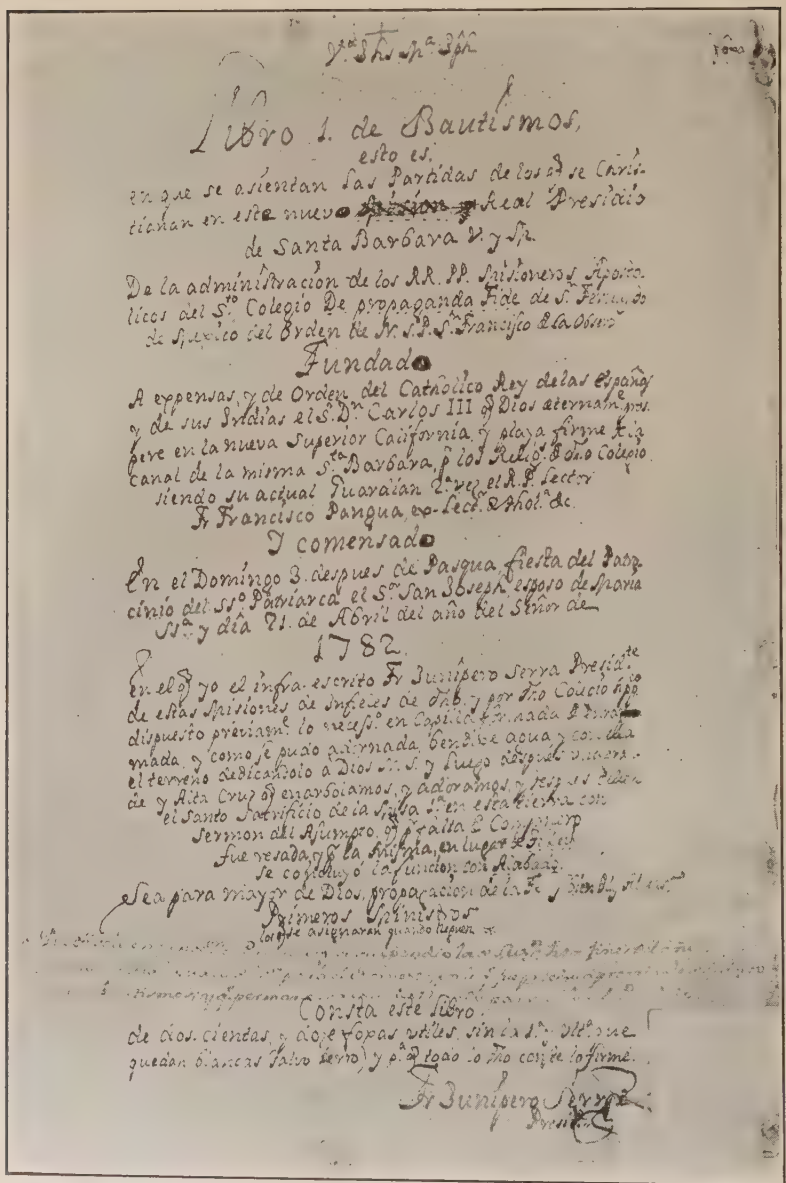
holy Patriarch St. Joseph, Spouse of Mary Most Holy, on April 21 of the year of the Lord 1782. On this day, I the undersigned Fr. Junípero Serra, Presidente of these Missions of said Apostolic College among the infidels, having previously arranged what was necessary in a chapel constructed of boughs and adorned as well as possible, I blessed water and with it the land, dedicating it to God our Lord. Then we raised a large high Cross and venerated it. Thereupon I celebrated the holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the first time in these lands and preached a sermon appropriate to the occasion. For want of a companion, it was a low Mass; and for the same reason, in place of the *Te Deum,* the *Alabado* concluded the function.

"May it be for the greater glory of God, the propagation of the Faith and the welfare of souls.

"The first resident missionaries will be assigned when they arrive (from Mexico). This book consists of 212 pages, for use, not counting the first and last which remain blank, etc. Fr. Junípero Serra."

As the engraving shows, Fr. Lasuén later wrote in the space preceding the last sentence: "Only the presidio was founded, and the founding of the Mission was suspended till the end of the year 1786, when it was established half a league distant to the northwest. Therefore it was necessary to arrange another Book of Baptisms, and this one is destined for the presidio alone."

"The site chosen," Bancroft remarks, "was on the shore of a small bay affording tolerably secure anchorage, at a place said to have been called San Joaquín de la Laguna in the first expedition of 1769, and near a large native town, which, like its *temi*, or chief, was called Yanonalit. . . . The natives were more friendly than had been anticipated, and Yanonalit was willing to exchange presents. Work was at once begun and oak timber felled for the requisite shelters, and particularly for the palisade enclosure, sixty varas square, which was later replaced by a solid wall enclosing an area of eighty yards square. The natives were hired to work



Y.S. Th. Sp. Sps

Libro 1. de Bautismos,
esto es,
en que se asientan las Partidas de los q se Cris-
tianan en este nuevo Real Presidio
de Santa Barbara y Sn.

De la administracion de los RR. PP. Predicadores Apostolicos del Sto. Colegio De propaganda Fide de S. Fernando de Mexico del Orden de Nr. P. S. Francisco de la Observ.

Fundado

A expensas, y de Orden del Catholico Rey de las Españas y de sus Indias el S. Dn. Carlos III q Dios aeternam. prueve en la nueva Superior California, y playa frente a la canal de la misma Sta. Barbara, p los Relig. de dho. Colegio siendo su actual Guardian Vice el R. P. Lector
Fr Francisco Pangua, ex-Lect. Apost. &c.

Y comensado

En el Domingo 3. despues de Pasqua fiesta del Patrocinio del Sto. Patriarca el S. San Joseph esposo de Maria Sma. y dia 21. de Abril del año del Señor de
1782.

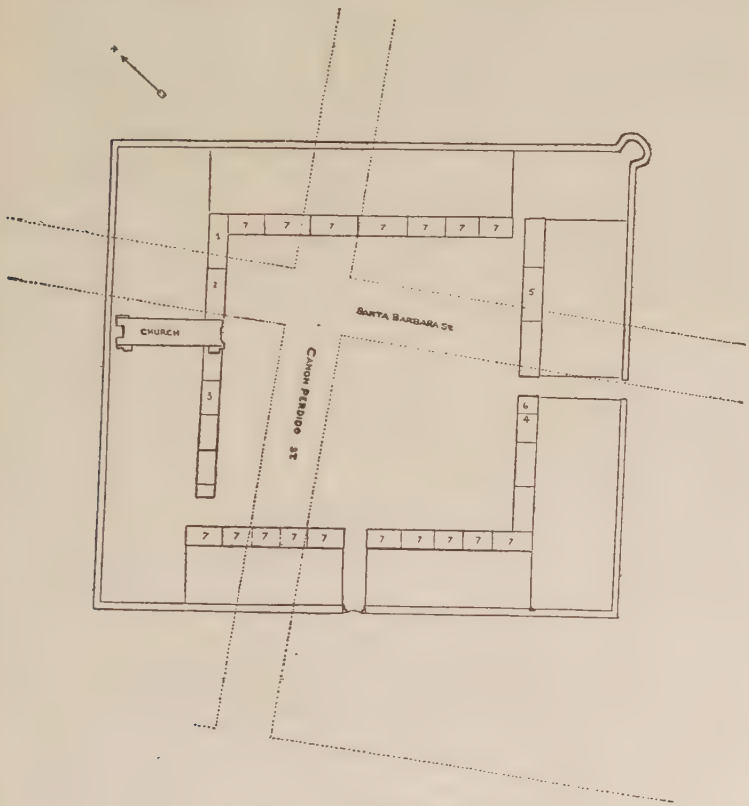
En el q yo el infra. escrito Fr Junipero Serra Presidente de estas Misiones de Infieles de dho. y por dho. Colegio hize dispuesto previam. lo necess. en Capilla formada y dezentemente adornada, bendixe agua y con ella rociada y como se pudo adornada, bendixe despues el terreno dedicandolo a Dios N. S. y luego despues hize de y Alta Cruz q enarbolamos, y adoramos y pusimos debajo el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa q en esta fue con Sermon del Asumpto. q predicó el Comisario
Fue rezada q la Misa, en lugar de Credo
se cantó la Letania con Rogativa
Sea para mayor de Dios, propagacion de la Fe y bien de las Almas
Primeros Christianos
los que se asignaron quanto fueron

Consta este libro
de dos cientas y doze fojas utiles sin las dos que quedan blancas salvo error y p. q. todo lo firmé.
Fr Junipero Serra

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF THE PARISH BAPTISMAL REGISTER.

and were paid in articles of food and clothing. Yanonalit had authority over some thirteen rancherías, and his friendship proved a great advantage."[6]

According to Rev. Juan Caballeria, the presidio occupied



PLAT OF THE PRESIDIO

1 Comandante
2 Alferez
3 Sergeant's House
4 Quartermaster
5 Store House
6 Guard House
7 Soldiers' Quarters

the blocks 139, 140, 155, and 156, bounded by Figueroa, Cañon Perdido, Garden, and Anacapa Streets.[7] Walter A.

[6] *California*, vol. i, p. 377.

[7] *History of Santa Barbara*, a pamphlet printed at Santa Barbara in 1892.

Hawley informs us that the intersection of Santa Barbara and Cañon Perdido Streets is almost in the center of the former presidio.[8] Its first commander was Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega, who continued in charge till 1795, when he retired as brevet captain. He died near Santa Barbara in 1798. The other officers were Pablo Antonio Cota and José Darío Argüello, ensigns; José Raymundo Carrillo, José Maria Ortega, and Ignácio Olivera, sergeants; Pedro Amadór and Ignácio Rodríguez, corporals. Thirty-six leather jacket soldiers and nine Indian attendants composed the garrison. The names are as follows:

José Francisco Soto, Anastasio Felix, Rosalino Fernández, Eugenio Valdez, Juan José Lobo, Guillermo Soto, Juan J. Domínguez, Luis G. Lugo, Vicente F. Villa, Felipe González, Salvador Cervantes, Juan Villa, Ignácio Rochin, Eugenio Ruiz, Tomás González, José Lugo, Isídro German, Joaquín Rodríguez, José Ruiz, Juan Valencia, Tadeo Sanchez, Mariano Cota, Martin Reyes, José Ayala, Vicente Quijada, José Valenzuela, Juan Leyva, José M. Flores, José I. Martínez, Francisco García, Luis Peña, Juan Ballesteros, Juan M. Romero, Manuel Valenzuela, Manuel Machado, José Valdez. *Indian attendants*: José Loreto, José Salazar, Manuel Orcha, Pedro Ramon, Rafael Gerardo, Marcos Varela, Hilário Carlos, Luis Yaquis, José Calixto.[9]

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[8] *Early Days of Santa Barbara*, 1910.

[9] *History of Santa Barbara*, by Rev. Juan Caballeria y Godell, 1892.

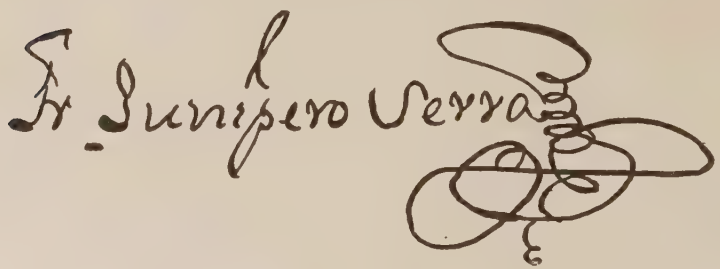
CHAPTER IV.

Governor Felipe de Neve Hostile.—Consequences of His Foolish Plans.—Result on the Colorado.—The College of San Fernando Refuses to be a Partner to the Crazy Scheme.—Fr. Serra Aggrieved.—His Confirmation Tour.—Confirms at Santa Barbara.—The Record.—His Zeal.—Gov. Neve Transferred to Mexico.—The Viceroy Allows the Old System to Continue.—Letter from Fr. Serra.—Neve's Ill-natured Note.—Site Selected.

THE reason why Felipe de Neve would not permit the founding of the Mission of Santa Barbara to proceed was anything but creditable to the first resident governor of California. The reader will bear in mind that the founding of a Mission was a matter that the governor could neither command nor prohibit, though he might delay it, as his predecessors had done in the cases of Missions San Diego and San Buenaventura. Such an undertaking, under the King of Spain, pertained to the privileges of the viceroy of Mexico. This official had already given orders for the erection on the channel of the Missions of San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, and Purisima Concepcion, and he always referred to them as the Channel Missions. Neve, nevertheless, opposed the founding of these missionary centers because he was hostile to the Mission system, which had till then been followed and which alone, as results clearly demonstrated, could insure success. The governor would have neither agriculture nor mechanical arts taught the savages, nor would he have the Missions possess any live stock for the support of the neophytes. Two Fathers were no longer to be assigned to each Mission to assist each other spiritually and temporally, but only one, and this one was to have nothing more to do but to visit the savages in their rancherías and there instruct such of their number as could be induced to listen to him. Attracting the Indians by present-

ing them with food, clothing, or trinkets was to be a thing of the past.

The converts, if possibly there would be any, were to remain in their hovels and in the shameless surroundings of a vile savage camp. To put it briefly, if Neve's ideas had prevailed no such structures as the Mission church and monastery of Santa Barbara would ever have risen on the spot—the admiration of travelers and scholars the world over; and no Indian village would ever have been erected near the Mission, where perhaps the lowest type of American Indians were won over for Christianity and civilization, and where they lived happy and contented under the direction of



their beloved Fathers. Few, if any, of the savages would have accepted the truths of salvation and risen from their mental and moral degradation; while the white colonists would have enjoyed no security against the inroads of their savage neighbors. To understand what would have been the result of Neve's idiotic plan, we have but to remember what happened on the Colorado River. There, in 1781, just one year before Fr. Serra raised the Cross at Santa Barbara, the plan ended in complete failure, as the missionaries had predicted. The colonists had been settled there only a few months, when the blood-thirsty Indian hordes attacked the Spanish settlements. In the wholesale massacre that followed, the majority of the colonists, including Captain Fernando Rivera and four Franciscan missionaries, were murdered. Neve had heard of the calamity; and therefore he

remained silent when he arrived at San Buenaventura two weeks after the Mission had been founded. He allowed it to proceed on the old plan, because he could no longer prevent it; but to snub the venerable Fr. Serra and to accomplish his stupid plan, he said nothing about the Mission to be founded at Santa Barbara.

In the case of Mission San Buenaventura, the hostile governor had been silent only because, already thirteen years previously, Inspector-General Don Joseph de Galvez had supplied what was necessary for the founding of the Mission, that is to say, $1,000 from the Pious Fund, with which to purchase farm implements, church and house furniture, etc. It was different with regard to the founding of Mission Santa Barbara. In this case, by his machinations Neve had prevented the viceroy from granting such necessary supplies and means from the Pious Fund. Hence there was no way of establishing the Mission at the time, even if he had been willing to do so. Another most serious obstacle was the lack of missionaries. When the College of San Fernando learned that the old system under which the Missions had prospered, was to be supplanted by one which would surely spell disaster, it flatly refused to furnish any more missionaries and expose them to the terrible fate that had befallen those on the Colorado River. This was the reason, too, why Fr. Serra was unable to appoint two Fathers for San Buenaventura, and why he had none at all for the proposed Mission of Santa Barbara. At the latter place, the soldiers of the presidio had to be content until the missionary of San Buenaventura found an opportunity to visit them. At the same time, the friars in Mexico refused to volunteer for the California Missions so long as the stupid, not to say malicious, plan of the hostile Neve was to be in force. This Fr. Serra learned on reaching Monterey, where he found a letter from the Fr. Guardian. He had all the while expected that six Fathers would arrive, and now he was told that none would come, and that until further notice from the College he was not to found any more Missions. Needless

to say, this cut him to the quick, and, as Fr. Palóu relates, it shortened the life of the venerable Fr. Presidente, whose heart was filled with such burning zeal for the salvation of immortal souls.[1]

When he felt his end approaching, Fr. Serra desired once more to visit his brethren in the Missions and to administer Confirmation to those who had not yet received the sacrament. Accordingly, in spite of his illness, as we learn from Fr. Palóu, he and Fr. Juan Riobó set sail from Monterey in the latter part of August, 1783.[2] From Fr. Serra's personal Register of Confirmation it is clear that on this occasion he spent the last days of that month at the presidio of Santa Barbara, which then comprised some forty soldiers and the families of those that were married. In this personal record or journal, Fr. Serra writes: "On September 1, 1783, in the church or chapel of the royal presidio of Santa Barbara (which I reached by sea), at the conclusion of my High Mass, with the assistance of three priests and in the presence of the people, having in the doctrinal sermon given my hearers the appropriate explanations and exhortations, and retaining the sacerdotal vestments I wore at the holy Sacrifice, I administered the holy Sacrament of Confirmation to those who presented themselves for that purpose. They were eight boys and nine girls, and two married women. Hence the number of Confirmations was nineteen. These, I directed to be entered in the prescribed form, stating the names of those confirmed, of their parents, and of the godfathers and godmothers, in order that later they might be entered in the Register of Confirmations at Mission San Buenaventura, to whose charge the spiritual affairs of this royal presidio for the present belongs. Having confirmed that number, I gave to those confirmed the blessing, according to the formula of the Roman Pontifical as also the instructions of the Sacred General Congregation of the

[1] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 433-434; 370-377.

[2] *Vida*, chap. lvi.

UNIVERSAL CONVEYANCE IN THE EARLY DAYS OF CALIFORNIA

Propagation of the Faith; and the godfathers and godmothers I reminded of their spiritual relationship and of the obligations they contracted. In testimony whereof I signed my name, Fr. Junípero Serra."

This was, therefore, the first time that the Sacrament of Confirmation was administered at what is now the city of Santa Barbara. Fr. Palóu makes no mention of this event; or rather, he placed it by mistake in April, 1782. It is not known when Fr. Serra re-embarked. Certain it is that he sailed directly to San Diego. That he arrived at the harbor of this place on or about September 12 is clear from his personal journal, in which he notes that on September 14, some days after his arrival by sea, he confirmed 124 persons at the Mission of San Diego.

On his return trip, which he made over land, Fr. Serra arrived at the presidio of Santa Barbara in the evening of November 22. "On November 23, 1783, a Sunday," he tells us in his interesting journal, "in the church or chapel of the royal presidio of Santa Barbara, having celebrated the holy Sacrifice of the Mass and preached the word of God to those present, and retaining the sacerdotal vestments, I confirmed four persons; namely, two boys, the children of soldiers, one neophyte girl, who had been brought from the Colorado River, and one woman, the wife of a soldier." He does not mention any assisting priest, nor the date on which he left the place he was never to see again in this life. No doubt, he departed with a heavy heart, to say nothing of the fact that he was very ill. "He passed through the rancherías of the gentiles," Fr. Palóu relates, "twenty leagues along the coast of the Santa Barbara Channel. There were not fewer than twenty Indian villages here, well constructed and inhabited by many people; and in each one his heart melted and his tears flowed when he reflected that he was not allowed to water this field with his blood and thereby effect their conversion, because the field had not been entrusted to him. He would water it with his tears, however, that were born of his most feverish desires. He could not help burst-

ing out into the prayer, 'Pray the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest.' (Matt. ix:38.) Lack of laborers, no doubt, shortened his life, owing to the ardent desires he cherished for the conversion of the gentiles; for from the moment he received the news that no missionaries were to be sent for the channel, his heart was greatly oppressed, while he offered himself with greater fervor to God our Lord for the work of the propagation of the Faith."[3]

After Neve's transfer to Mexico, the viceroy at length permitted the old system to continue, and the usual goods and supplies for the erection of Missions to be granted from the Pious Fund. These were the same as had been granted for the previous Missions: a full complement of church vestments and utensils, including bells, a proper supply of live stock and seed grain; an outfit of implements for house, shop, and field; $1,000 to be expended for clothes and various articles useful in attracting the natives; and a year's stipend to be paid in advance for traveling expenses by sea and land. Before Fr. Serra passed to his eternal reward, he had the happiness to learn that the Mission would now be founded at Santa Barbara as had been contemplated before Ex-Governor de Neve interfered. The letter of Governor Pedro Fages informing him of the fact, reached Fr. Serra only a month before his death. In reply, the happy Fr. Presidente penned what was probably his last note on the subject which had caused him so many an hour of worry and sorrow. He wrote:

"Lieutenant-Colonel and Governor Don Pedro Fages.

"My Dear Sir:—With due appreciation I received the letter of Your Honor, which I have just finished reading and in which it pleases you to communicate the estimable news that the Comandante General, whose cautionary remarks I appreciate, at last agrees that a Mission be established on the site at the Channel of Santa Barbara called

[3] *Vida*, chap. lvi.

Montecito, a short distance from that presidio under the conditions which he points out to Your Honor. To this Your Honor adds that I should take up the matter and inform you of my opinion, in order that we may proceed according to our respective instructions for the success of so important an establishment.

"To this I reply that it is sufficiently known to Your Honor and to every one else that I desire this and other Missions to be founded for the propagation of our holy Faith. How many souls from Montecito, and from other places among the pagans in whose midst we live, would now be in heaven already, if my proposals had been followed? What I have to say in this case is that I shall at once write to our holy College, asking that it may hasten hither suitable religious and that it may solicit from our Brother Síndico the thousand dollars which must be paid for supplies for the house and the field, in order to start the Mission; and that, as soon as the supplies arrive, we may proceed in harmony to accomplish so important an undertaking, Your Honor lending your assistance in whatever is necessary. I presume that this repositary of the Faith will have to be erected in the place first selected. . . . Fr. Junípero Serra. July 31, 1784."[4]

The cautionary remarks (*clausula*) of Neve, who had become Comandante-General, which Fages had quoted for the benefit of Fr. Serra, were quite uncalled for.[5] They read as follows: "Being informed by your official note, No. 96, of December 5 last (1783) regarding the advantages which the place called Montecito, a short distance from the presidio of Santa Barbara, enjoys for establishing the Mission of the same name, I consent that it be selected in such a way, however, as not to be a disgust to the gentile Indians, whom Your Honor will take care to have treated with the greatest sweetness and kindness, so that this estab-

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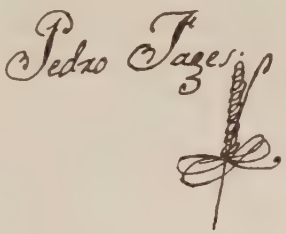
[4] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.*, vol. i, pp. 478-480; *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[5] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, p. 432.

lishment may not be repugnant to them, carefully avoiding as much as possible whatever might arouse in them the least excuse for ill feeling. This I tell Your Honor that you may observe it punctually, charging you that the land which may be selected as a site for the Mission be considered as *at the expense of the religious.*[6] . . . April 1, 1784."[7]

Under date of September 30, 1785, Governor Fages informed Fr. Presidente Lasuén that, in company with Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria, he had examined the place called Montecito, three-quarters of a league from the presidio of



Santa Barbara; that he had judged it suitable for establishing the Mission of the same name; that he had reported to the Comandante-General and had notified also Fr. Serra, that the former "orders me to proceed immediately to the founding; and that Fr. Serra had agreed but was only waiting for the arrival of requisite missionaries from Mexico, for whom he had petitioned the College."[8] On October 7, 1785, Fr. Lasuén replied from San Diego that he was glad a suitable place for the Mission had been discovered, but that he, too, would have to wait until the new Fathers arrived for whom he had petitioned.[9]

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6 "a gasto de los Religiosos."

7 *Cal. Arch.*, and *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ut supra.

8 *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.*, vol. iii, pp. 89; 407.

9 *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

CHAPTER V.

Preparations for Founding the Mission.—The Mission Established.—Title Page of the Baptismal Register.—The First Indian Converts.—Site of the Mission.—Building Activities.—Agriculture Started.—Governor Fages's Report.—First Tiles Made.

FR. JUAN SANCHO, Guardian of the College of San Fernando, at last, on April 1, 1786, notified Fr. Presidente Lasuén that, at the request of Viceroy Matias de Galvez, he was sending six Fathers, who had volunteered for the Missions in California. "I must remind you, however," he wrote, "that the Mission (of Santa Barbara) is to be established on a site most in accordance with the conditions laid down in the royal instructions,[1] and in temporal as well as in spiritual matters after the method which from the beginning of the conquest has been observed in the other Missions already established." Eight days later, Fr. Lasuén received another letter from the Fr. Guardian. "For the founding of the Mission of Santa Barbara," he was told, "it is necessary that all the Missions concur in supplying domestic animals of every kind, and also seed grain; for such is the royal disposition which must be observed without the least objection on the part of any missionary. I doubt not that all will comply with pleasure in order to plant that new vineyard."[2]

Accordingly, in the last week of October, 1786, Fr. Presidente Lasuén came down from San Carlos. Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, who had just arrived in California, accompanied him, while Fr. Antonio Paterna joined them at Mission San Luis Obispo. Under date of December 11, 1786, Fr. Lasuén reported the founding of the Mission to Comandante-General

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[1] i. e., there must be a sufficient good land, water, timber, and a large Indian population.

[2] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

VOLUNTEER FRIARS RECEIVING THE FR. GUARDIAN'S BLESSING BEFORE DEPARTING FOR CALIFORNIA.

Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola as follows: "Since the end of October, I am here at this royal presidio of Santa Barbara where I had arrived with two missionaries for the purpose of founding in its vicinity the Mission of the same name. Since then we have made a few preparations to that end and have also begun to sow some wheat. In the meantime the feast of the holy Patroness occurred, wherefore that afternoon we constructed and planted the holy Cross on the spot previously selected. The formal founding of the Mission and the erection of some sort of habitation or shelter was forbidden us by the governor until he himself should arrive here. It is during your term, therefore, Your Honor, that the founding of this establishment occurs, with which are connected such peculiar circumstances and which is of so singular an importance. May Heaven be pleased to bless it, and in your time provide everything that will enable us to join to our holy Church the exceedingly numerous pagans of this coast."

The name for the new Mission had been previously chosen by Viceroy Martin de Mayorga, as may be seen from his letter of December 7, 1780, in which he speaks of "the three Missions which are to be established in California under the titles of Santa Barbara, Purisima Concepcion, and San Buenaventura."[3]

The governor reached Santa Barbara presidio on Thursday, December 14, 1786. On the following Saturday, "an *enramada* having been constructed beside the Cross, and the governor being present," as Fr. Lasuén reported, "I sang the first holy Mass on this spot. The Preacher Apostolic, Fr. Antonio Paterna, served and I made a brief address suitable to the occasion." On December 16, therefore, the Mission of Santa Barbara was declared formally founded. Nevertheless, December 4, the day on which the Church celebrates the feast of Saint Barbara, and on which the Cross

[3] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

was raised on the site of the future Mission, was always regarded and reported as the day of the founding.

The text of the title page of the Baptismal Register which is more explicit, reads as follows:[4]

"BLESSED BE JESUS. The First Book of Baptisms of the Mission of Santa Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, SITUATED midway on the Channel and near the royal presidio of the same name, FOUNDED at the expense and by order of the Catholic King of Spain and its Indies, Don Carlos III, whom God prosper eternally, and by the Rev. Apostolic Missionary Fathers of the holy College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando in Mexico, to which the pious and powerful monarch entrusted the reduction and administration of all these new possessions, COMMENCED on the day of the holy Titular Patroness, December 4, in the year of our Lord 1786.

"On the afternoon of this day, no greater solemnity having been permitted us, I the undersigned Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, Presidente of these Missions of and for that Apostolic College, accompanied by three other missionaries, went from the presidio to this place. I blessed water and with it the surrounding land, dedicating it to God our Lord; whereupon I immediately blessed the large Cross, which we planted and venerated. We recited the Litany of All Saints and concluded our private function by singing the Antiphon, the verse, and the oration of our holy Patroness. On the fourteenth of that month, the governor arrived and, the prohibition having been lifted, it was resolved that he ought to be present at the founding already begun at this place. On the sixteenth, an *enramada* having been constructed near the Cross and the governor being present, I sang the first High Mass on this site, and made a brief address suitable to the occasion. May it be for the greater honor and glory

[4] The text of the title page of the Marriage and Burial Registers is the same, excepting the substitution of the terms *Marriage* and *Death* for *Baptism*.

of God, the exaltation of His Most Holy Name and the welfare of souls.

"The first Missionaries whom I assigned by authority of our holy College were the Rev. Fathers Fr. Antonio Paterna and Fr. Cristóbal Orámas.

"This book consists of 392 pages for use, which are numbered, the first and the last remaining blank. In witness whereof I sign. Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén."

On the third page begin the entries of Baptisms. The first three entries are of Baptisms administered on the same day. They read:

"1. On December 31, in the year 1786, in the structure that serves as church for this royal presidio of Santa Barbara, which structure is the guardhouse, because what was the church threatens to collapse, I solemnly baptized three adults. The first was about twenty-two years of age, named in paganism Catayu, from the ranchería called Guainonase. I gave him the name Antonio Maria.

"2. The second, about fifteen years of age, is the son of pagan parents from the ranchería called Sisabanonase. In paganism they called him Siocre (Sioctu?). I gave him the name Vicente Maria.

"3. The third is about twelve years old, the son of pagan parents from the ranchería called Janaya. The pagans called him Mumiyaut. I gave him the name Vicente a Paulo. The godfather of the three was Don Felipe Goicoechea, lieutenant of this presidio, whom I reminded of the spiritual relationship and of the obligation he contracted. In witness whereof I have signed on said day, month and year.—Fr. Antonio Paterna."

Hence we see that at the close of the year 1786, the Baptismal Register of the Mission of Santa Barbara contained the names of three converts from paganism. Mission buildings could not be erected that year on account of the rainy season which set in soon after the founding.

We may note also that the place selected for the Mission

was called Taynayan by the Indians, which signifies "rocky mound." It was well chosen, because the whole surrounding territory is imbedded with rock, which, being a sort of sand stone, is easily worked. Perhaps in deference to the Indian name, the Spaniards named the site El Pedregoso, which also signifies "stony."

Early in 1787, the laborers began to erect the Mission buildings, the two Fathers meanwhile living down at the presidio. To form a clear estimate of the material side of Mission activity at Santa Barbara during the first years of its existence, it will be well to reproduce, in substance at least, the reports which the resident missionaries drew up at the end of each year. The first of these is dated December 31, 1787. It is signed by Fathers Antonio Paterna and Cristóbal Orámas.

After enumerating the church goods, house utensils, and the implements for field and shops, the report tells us, under the caption *Fabricas,* which buildings went up during the year 1787. The first building was a structure with two rooms that served as habitation for the Fathers. It measured 44 feet in length and 14 feet in width. Adjoining it was a room 17 feet long and 14 feet wide. It had a flat roof of straw and served as a kitchen. Then is mentioned a granary or store-room, 58 feet long and 14 feet wide. The *monjério,* or abode for the unmarried women and the girls, measured 33 by 14 feet. The chapel was 39 feet in length and 14 feet in width. A room for the servants was 16 feet long and 14 feet wide, while the carpenter shop, which served also as an abode for the unmarried men and the boys, was 28 by 14 feet. Unfortunately, the report does not say in which direction the various additions were erected. It would seem, however, that all the structures so far mentioned formed one wing; for the next building erected in that year was not, as those already mentioned, 14 feet, but 17 feet wide, and consequently formed at least the beginning of another wing, probably joining at the western extremity and extending northward. This building had four rooms,

one 21 feet, two 16, and one 14 feet long. While all the others were constructed of poles and clay with roofs of thatch, this last structure had walls of adobe about three feet in thickness; but it could not be roofed because the rains set in.

Under the heads *Planting* and *Harvesting,* it was reported that in the fall of 1786 were sown 12½ bushels of wheat and 2½ *almudes* of chickpeas. In the next year the plantings amounted to ¾ bushel of corn, 27 bushels of beans, 17 bushels of barley, and 30 bushels of wheat. In all, therefore, 64 bushels of grain had been planted. The yield, at the end of the year 1787, was 200 bushels of wheat, 67 bushels of corn, ¾ bushel of beans, making a total of 265 bushels of grain. The barley and the garbanzos or chickpeas proved a complete failure.

The live stock, at the end of 1787, comprised 80 head of cattle, 27 sheep, 87 goats, 32 horses, and 9 mules.

Similar reports were drawn up every year under the same headings, and show that the products in the various departments increased from year to year. In order not to weary the kindly reader, we shall mention only what additions were made to the buildings and to the church goods, unless something extraordinary happened in the other departments, and relegate the rest to the Tables at the end of the volume.

Governor Pedro Fages, in 1787, was pleased to draw up a report for the viceroy on the conditions in California. With regard to Mission Santa Barbara he wrote: "It is distant from that of San Buenaventura eight leagues, and is still obliged to depend upon its own resources. Notwithstanding that it has been placed in the center of the Channel of Santa Barbara, no additional guards have been conceded to it, owing to the proximity of the presidio of the same name, from which it is distant a little less than half a league. For this reason it was necessary to locate the Mission in the vicinity of the garrison. Without doubt, it will be suffering from lack of water sufficient for irrigating the fields which they desire, and even must begin, to cultivate in spite of the

FRANCISCAN MISSIONARIES AS THEY CAME AND WENT. See Mark vi, 8-9.

lack of sufficient water. However, if well directed and carefully utilized, there is hope of a middling sufficiency. In addition, it has in its neighborhood some plots of land which are very appreciable for raising crops with the aid of rains alone.

"The very extraordinary, and, until now not experienced, brief time since which the numerous pagans have embraced the Faith of Christ, their cheerful submission to it, to the instructions required, and to the regular routine of work, renders it certain that the result will be glorious, rapid, and interesting. Although this Mission as yet does not count six months since the founding, we know that they have already seventy Baptisms in the Register, the majority of whom are adults. According to the report of the Fathers, which I have seen, there would have been more than 120, if food and clothing for all had not been lacking. In a word, the said Fathers find themselves hampered in fully exercizing their wonted zeal in accordance with their apostolic calling; for they admit to holy Baptism none but such as pertinaciously insist on being received.

"Although they have not as yet transported to this Mission all the cattle and horses assigned to it, and which must be secured from the other Missions, a moderate beginning in agricultural activities has been made. However, it is the general experience, that once suitable land has been discovered, with the customary energy progress will be made as has been observed in other establishments of the kind."[5]

From the report of 1788 we learn that, owing to the want of supplies with which to maintain the neophytes of the Mission, nothing had been done in the way of building till the month of July, except that a corral was erected for the cattle. In the course of the next six months, however, the four apartments commenced in the preceding year were roofed with thatch and furnished with doors. Tiles were made here for the first time, and the first building to be

[5] Fages, *Informe General*, 1787, Nos. 17-18.

roofed with them was the *monjério*. Likewise, the building which till then had been used as a dormitory for the men and boys was covered with tiles and thereafter served as a granary. New buildings were a house 35 feet long and 14 feet wide, and another of adobe, to serve as a kitchen. Both were roofed with tiles made on the spot. An addition of adobe roofed with tiles was built to the chapel, and probably constituted the sanctuary. The Indian population at the end of 1788 numbered 88 neophyte families comprising 307 souls.

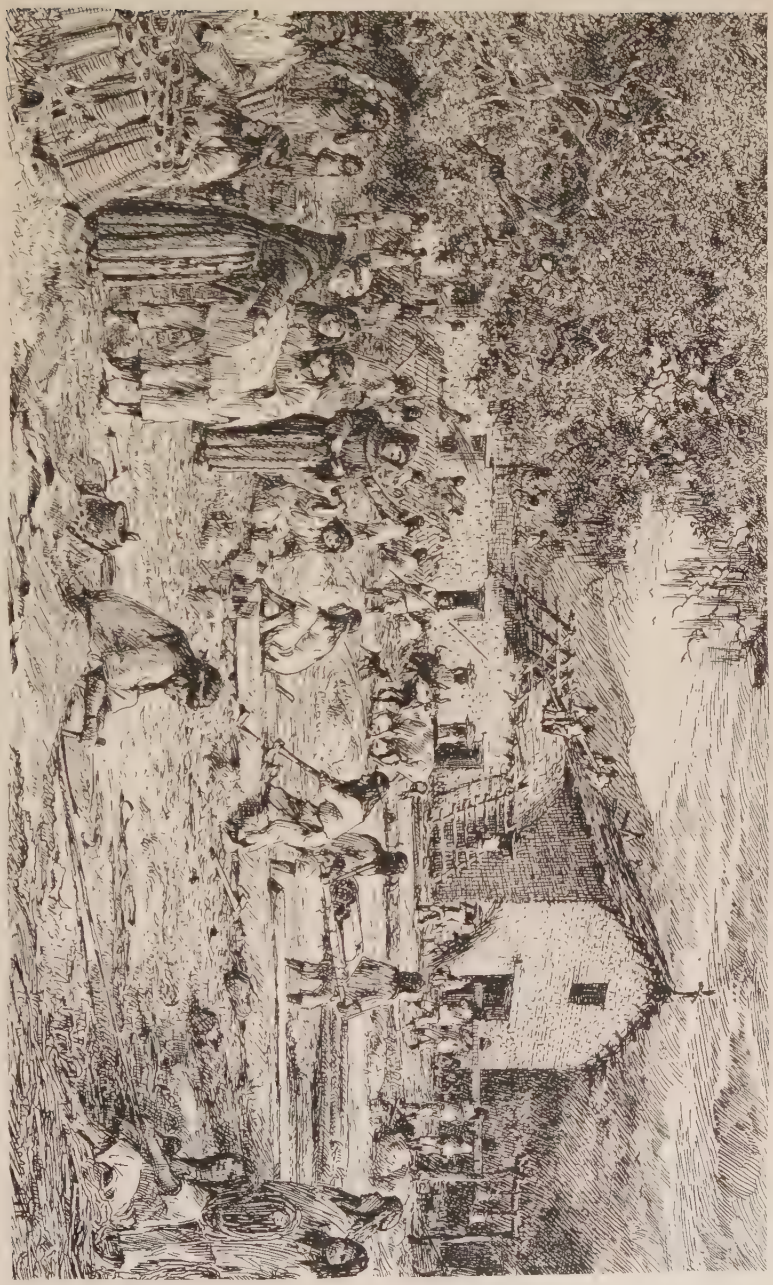
CHAPTER VI.

New Church.—Lively Building Activity.—Church Goods.—Third Church.—Description.—Additional Buildings Rise.—Front Corridor.—Report of Fathers Tápis and Miguel.—Christian Doctrine.—Wild Animals.—Lack of Water.—Church Goods Acquired.—Indian Village.—Statistical.—Missionary Changes.—Death of Fr. Paterna.

DURING the year 1789, a new church was erected. It measured 108 feet in length and 17 feet in width. It was constructed of adobes and roofed with tiles. The old chapel of poles and thatch was removed, save perhaps the sanctuary which was of adobe. A larger granary was erected, the dimensions of which were 86 feet in length and 17 feet in width. Adjoining this was another new building 33 feet long and 17 feet wide. It served for the *monjério*. Two other structures, a hennery and a jail, were 14 by 12 feet. All these were of adobe and had tile roofs. Finally a building was constructed of poles, but covered with tiles. It was 25 feet long and 14 feet wide. This was used for keeping the saddles and harnesses and other things pertaining to muleteers.

For the church a tabernacle of wood was secured, also a set of altar cards and a new table for the altar. The neophytes now numbered 425 souls.

The next year saw new apartments rise for the two missionaries. They measured 28 feet in length and 17 feet in width, and were partitioned off so as to serve for a reception room 18 feet long, and a bedroom 10 feet long for each Father. Like all new structures after this year they were of adobe and roofed with tiles. Each of the four rooms had its doors and windows. Furthermore, a large building was put up which measured 165 feet in length and 17 feet in width. It was divided into eight apartments; viz. refectory, kitchen, toilet, store-room, wood room, lock-up, flour room, and a room for the women. The new granary was 33 by 17



INDIANS ERECTING THE MISSION BUILDINGS UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE MISSIONARIES.

feet. All these structures were of adobe and plastered with mud, while the roofs were of tiles.

Among the church goods acquired this year was a statue of St. Anthony. It was about three feet in height, and stood on a pedestal.

Four new buildings went up in the year 1791, all of adobe and roofed with tiles. One of them was 27 feet long and 17 feet wide. It was to be used as a guardhouse for the soldiers. In the other three were kept the tools of the carpenter shop and the farm implements.

In 1792, two large corrals of stone were built. The one for the cattle measured 248 by 208 feet and the other, for the sheep and goats, 208 by 138 feet.

An important work was begun in 1793. It was the new adobe church, the third since founding the Mission. Its dimensions were 124 by 25 feet. The adjoining sacristy was 26 by 14 feet. Both were roofed with tiles and plastered with mortar inside and outside. The portico in front of the church was of brick and roofed with tiles. In this connection it may be noted that during this year the Mission suffered a great loss. Fr. Antonio Paterna, its founder, passed to his eternal reward. He died on February 13, 1793. For details we refer the reader to the biographical sketches near the end of the volume.

Early in 1794, the new church, begun in the preceding year, was completed. It was solemnly dedicated on the feast of St. Joseph, March 19. This edifice was the one used till the end of the year 1812, when an earthquake damaged it so badly that it had to be taken down and replaced by the present magnificent structure of stone. It had six side chapels, for which, in 1798, large oil paintings were acquired. Other new buildings also went up during the year 1794. First there is mention of on adobe granary, 72 by 17 feet; then another adobe structure used as a weaving room. It was 50 feet long and 17 feet wide and had a patio 28 by 50 feet. The foundations of these buildings were of stone and mortar; the roofs were of tile; while the

crevices in the walls were for the most part filled in with small stones, thus forming a comparatively smooth surface which was then plastered and whitewashed on the outside. This year, too, an adobe wall was put around the cemetery, which measured 124 feet in length and 44 feet in width. The top of the wall was covered with tiles. Finally, a corral of adobe and with tile top was erected for the sheep. It was 172 feet square, while the wall was about 9 feet high.

In 1795, Fathers Tápis and Miguel report that additions were made to the church and sacristy. Among these were two silk chasubles, one red and the other white, both adorned with galoons of gold; then a silver chalice with paten; a missal; and two statues, the one of the Immaculate Conception, and the other of St. Joseph. They were 6 palms in height and they were placed on the two altars which stood against the side walls of the sanctuary painted this year.

The new buildings for the year 1795 were the following: Two sides and one-half of the tile-covered square were renovated, after the old rafters of sycamore and poplar, which were nearly all rotten, had been taken down and replaced by rafters of pine; an apartment, measuring 69 by almost 9 feet and divided into four rooms, was added to the abode of the missionaries. Two of the rooms were used as bedrooms, while the others served as studies. For the most part, the building was of brick and mortar.

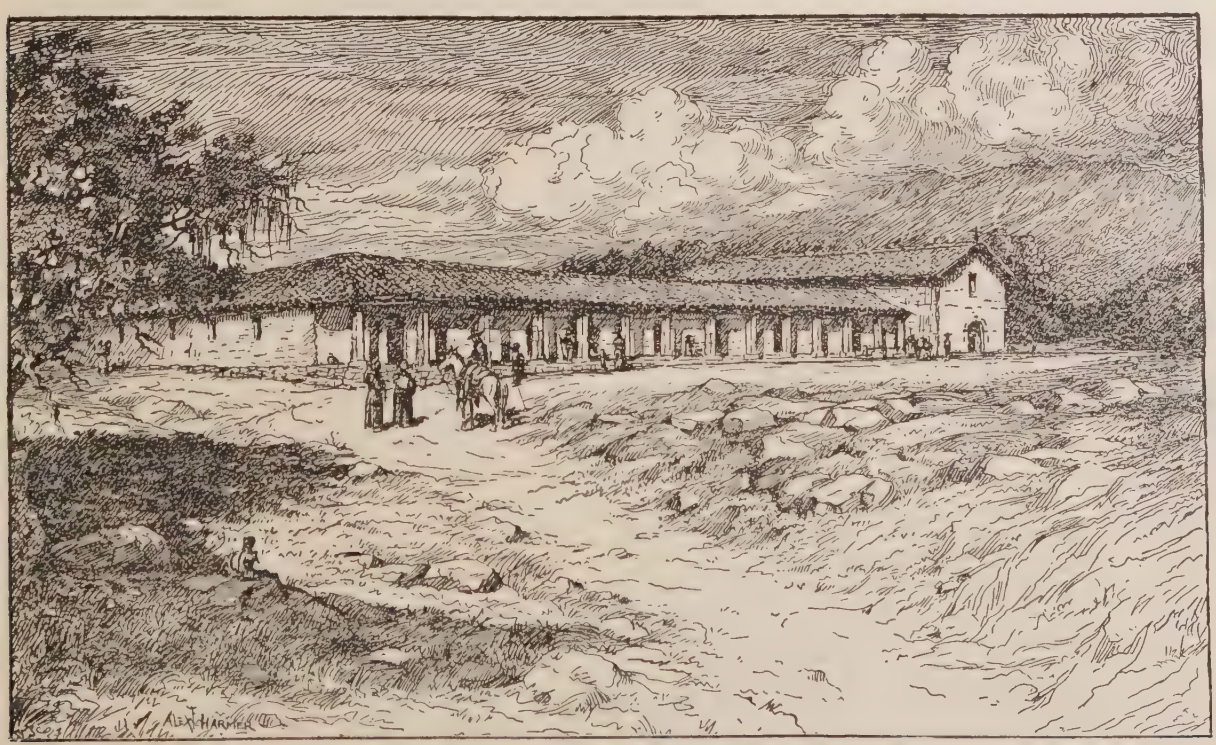
During 1796, the worm-eaten rafters of sycamore and poplar were removed from six different apartments of the Mission and replaced by new ones of pine. Accordingly, all the woodwork on the Mission buildings now consisted of pine. In this year also was built the front corridor facing the presidio. It measured 124 feet in length and about 8½ feet in width. The pillars were of brick and mortar and the roof of tiles. This corridor was erected to protect the wall of the Mission structure that faced the southeast against the rains. Another corridor, similarly constructed and measuring 50 by about 8 feet, was built in the patio, or inner

court, along the weaving rooms. At either extremity of the corridor an adobe room was erected 17 feet long and about 8½ feet wide.

At the end of this year, 1796, in a special *Nota,* Fathers Tápis and Miguel write as follows: "Though the church of this Mission is of adobe, it is very becoming. It was completed in the year 1794. There is a dearth of vestments, as we have on hand only those given by the king at the founding of the Mission, excepting two albs of fine Bretaña linen and another of little value which were added.

"Every day during holy Mass and before nightfall, the catechism of the Christian Doctrine and the prayers necessary for all the faithful are recited. On Sundays and the principal feasts, the catechism is explained. To all of which the Indians listen with pleasure and docility.

"The principal branches of industry are: Wool is woven into blankets and coarse cloth to dress the Indians; cattle, horses, mules, and sheep are raised; but the increase in the last two years has been small, owing to the serious damage done by bears, leopards, wolves, and coyotes; wheat, corn, and beans have been planted and harvested; but we are dependent upon the rain, because the running water of the Mission is not abundant. The dearth of it is greater in the months of July, August, and September, insomuch that repeatedly in the year 1794 the water stopped to flow at a quarter of a league from the Mission, though by dint of industry and labor it was made to run to the Mission. The harvests are small considering the amount of grain planted, because regularly at a certain time in the year the rains would fail, so that the fields would be in a poor condition. For the year 1794 we planted 98 fanégas of wheat, 2½ fanégas of corn; but only 15 fanégas of corn were realized, and of the wheat only 400 fanégas. Foreseeing that there would be a lack of provisions until the year 1795, we had recourse to the Missions of Purisima Concepcion and San Luis Obispo, and their Rev. Missionaries supplied our neophytes with 250 fanégas of wheat and corn.



"ALTHOUGH THE CHURCH OF THIS MISSION IS OF ADOBE, IT IS VERY BECOMING. IT WAS COMPLETED IN 1794." (Report of 1796.)

"There is no difference among the various tribes on this Channel of Santa Barbara. All speak the same language and they are quite well disposed toward the Castilian tongue. —Mission Santa Barbara.—Fr. Estévan Tápis, Fr. José de Miguel."

Mission Santa Barbara is fortunate in that, of all its sister establishments in California, it is the only one of which there is extant a complete record of building activities and of goods required from year to year for the use of the missionaries and their neophytes. Though for some it may be tedious reading, we do not find it expedient to suppress this information. We shall therefore continue to draw upon these priceless records for items of interest.

In 1797, the missionaries received the Fourteen Stations of the Cross which to this day adorn the nave of the Mission church.

With regard to new buildings, we have to note that three granaries were erected, each measuring 69 feet in length. An extra room, 29 feet long, served as entry into two of these granaries; another 25 feet long was used as a smithy; while a third, also 25 feet long, was set aside for the chickens. All these structures were of adobe and 18 feet in width. On the outside they were plastered and white-washed, roofed with tile, and furnished with doors and locks. They formed a distinct square, into which the old door of the Mission afforded an entrance.

As already mentioned on page 62, this chapter, six large oil paintings were secured for the church in 1798, and placed in the six oratories or chapels that stood along the sides of the church. It may be added here that each picture measured 11 feet in width and 14 feet in height. Besides these, two crucifixes were added, each about 25 inches high. Also a bell weighing 375 pounds was procured.

Because the converts were increasing rapidly, it was deemed expedient to establish a village in which each family might have a separate dwelling. Accordingly, in 1798, nineteen adobe houses were erected for as many neophyte

families to the southwest of the Mission square. These houses were 12 feet wide and 18 feet long and furnished with a door and a movable window. They were plastered and whitewashed on the outside and whitewashed on the inside. The Indians, we can imagine, must have felt like lords in their neat and spacious homes, which were so much more attractive and safe than the filthy hovels they had inhabited as pagans. Besides these houses, a piece of land was surrounded by an adobe wall 8½ feet high, capped with tiles and measuring 3,300 feet in circumference. Apparently it was quadrangular, each side being 825 feet long. It served the Indians as a garden, vineyard, and orchard.

In the course of the following year, 1799, another granary was built, 124 by 18 feet in size. It was plastered within and without and was roofed with tiles.

Considerable building activity was displayed during the last year of the century. The Indian village mentioned before received an addition of thirty-one adobe houses similarly constructed and roofed with tiles, for as many Indian families. In placing these houses a plan was followed, so that the village had its little streets and alleys. In 1799, also corridors were put up with pillars of brick and mortar and roofs of tile. The floors were paved with square tiles which still serve their end. These corridors extended along the three sides of the Mission quadrangle or square.

At the close of the year 1799 the Mission numbered 864 neophytes, 431 men and 433 women. The Baptisms amounted to 1,756, while the Death Register had 736 entries. The 156 Baptisms not accounted for represent a few whites, the runaways and those who were allowed to live in their rancherías. As to Indian marriages, it may be added that 397 had been solemnized by the end of the century.

In June, 1789, Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, one of the two founders of the Mission, was transferred to the newly established Mission of Purisima Concepcion. Fr. José de Miguel took his place at Santa Barbara and remained there till

October, 1798, when he retired to Mexico on account of ill health. He was replaced by Fr. Juan Lópe Cortés. The senior founder of the Mission, Fr. Antonio Paterna, as was already said, departed for a better life on February 13, 1793, and on the following day the remains were buried in the Mission church. Though we must refer the reader to a biographical sketch of this zealous missionary, it may be noticed right here what Fr. Presidente Lasuén, under date of March 30, 1793, wrote of him to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College: "During all these years Fr. Antonio Paterna has conducted himself like a good old man and always labored like a robust young man until death called him away, distinguishing himself in the estimation and sight of all by a zealous discharge of the ministry."

CHAPTER VII.

Indian Labor Desired.—Artisans.—Expedition for New Mission Sites.—Lack of Water Causes Lack of Food.—Weaving Industry.—Las Memórias.—The Missionaries Accused.—Fr. Tápis's Crushing Exposition.—Goycoechea Removed.—Life at the Mission in Detail.—Scrupulous Honesty of the Friars.

AT Santa Barbara, as elsewhere in the territory, the male and female neophytes were much in demand as laborers or servants. They had gradually become proficient in various branches of industry. The men, especially, were sought by soldiers and settlers to make adobes. When, however, the missionaries observed that life at the presidio was demoralizing their wards, they discountenanced tne practice of letting out the Indians to the soldiers. At Santa Barbara the wages amounted to only 19 cents a day and one *almud* (less than a peck) of corn a week. The money went into the common fund at the Mission. Thus it came to pass that when Ortega, on November 10, 1791, applied to the Mission for laborers to build his house, by order of the Fr. Presidente the Fathers declined to supply them.[1]

Sometimes artisans would be employed at the Mission to teach their respective trades to the neophytes. Thus, on August 11, 1791, Viceroy Revilla Gigedo wrote to Governor Borica that he might contract with a carpenter for ten reales a day. The contract was to last for four years; and during this time, the carpenter was to teach at least twelve Indians of the Mission or Missions to which he would be assigned, subject to the conditions observed by other artisans.[2]

Offenses against good morals occurred at an early date, as is clear from a letter which Captain Goycoechea of Santa

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[1] *Cal. Arch., Prov., St. Pap.*, x, 8-10. Banc. Coll.

[2] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, x, 467.

Barbara wrote to the governor, under date of November 18, 1795. In this letter directions are given as to how *concubinarios,* for instance, are to be chastised and as to what was to be done with the women who were involved.[3] More on this distasteful subject will have to be related in the course of time.

In 1798, Captain Goycoechea and Fr. Estévan Tápis, accompanied by a squad of soldiers, set out on an expedition for the purpose of finding a site suitable for a new Mission. They left on October 17, in the direction of the present Mission Santa Inés, and on the following day, at seven o'clock in the evening they arrived at the ranchería of Calahuasa. From there they continued as far as Alajulapu, where they found a suitable site. The nearest ranchería was that of Anajue, two leagues distant and having twenty huts. Calahuasa, with thirty huts, lay two and a half leagues from Alajulapu. Jonata or Jonjonata had sixteen huts and was three leagues distant from the last-mentioned ranchería. Sotonocomu or Sojtonocmu, with fifty huts was four leagues distant, Aquitsumu with twenty huts was seven leagues distant, and Teguep with twenty-five huts was four leagues distant. At this ranchería, on the first day out, Fr. Tápis baptized a sick woman. Sishuohuo, at a distance of nine leagues, had eight huts; Ahuaslayec, at a distance of three leagues, had twenty huts; Clemana, at a distance of five leagues, had ten huts; Sauchu or Santa Rosa was four leagues distant; Aquitsamu, with twenty huts, was eight leagues distant; Asnisehuc, with twenty-five huts, was eight leagues distant; Stucu, with twenty-five huts, was nine leagues distant; and Huilioqui, with eight huts, was also nine leagues distant.[4]

From the *Respuesta* which Fr. Tápis drew up in October, 1800, we learn that the Fathers received $757 in the way of Mass stipends. This money was used for the benefit of the

[3] *Cal Arch., Prov. St. Pap.,* xiv, 105.

[4] *Sta. Barb. Arch.,* ad annum.

INDIAN WOMEN CRUSHING BOILED CORN IN A MORTAR, AND THEN PREPARING THE DOUGH FOR TORTILLAS ON A METATE OR CURVED STONE.

Indian community. From this same document it is evident that in 1799 the missionaries determined to build a reservoir which was to be 110 feet square. The document further relates that in the two years of 1794 and 1795 a dearth of provisions prevailed among the Indians on the channel and in the sierra. In these two years only 500 fanégas of wheat and very little corn were harvested at Mission Santa Barbara. In order to maintain the neophytes, who then numbered 569, the Fathers allowed those who wished to search for food elsewhere. They would go in turns and for a week wherever they pleased. For the rest the Mission purchased 400 fanégas of corn, while the Missions of San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, Purisima Concepcion, and San Luis Obispo together contributed as an alms 300 fanégas of wheat and corn.[5]

Some artisans were for a while engaged at the Mission. One of these was a corporal who taught the neophytes how to tan hides. He received $150 for his services; but even before October, 1800, there had been distributed among the Indians of the Mission 165 *náguas,* or petticoats. They were of wool and were manufactured at the Mission. Besides, 800 yards of cotton cloth and 700 yards of breech cloth were woven. In the same years, sixty neophytes were engaged in weaving. The carpenter of the presidio was hired at one dollar a day to teach his trade to the neophytes, while one of the two soldiers that constituted the Mission guard, was employed by the Fathers as mayordomo.

In the same year, 1800, the Mission had a credit balance of $528 in Mexico; likewise a draft from the presidio storekeeper to the amount of $1,267; the cash on hand at the Mission was $309; the presidio owed the Mission $1,061 for supplies; private individuals owed the Mission $416; hence the Mission's assets totaled $3,581, in addition to the buildings and their appurtenances. From 1793 to 1800, the Mission furnished the presidio with supplies to the amount

[5] *Sta. Barb. Arch,* ad annum.

of $5,179. From otter skins sent to Mexico the Mission realized $1,624.[6]

Annually, from 1786 to 1810, the Mission received supplies of various kinds from Mexico. It was the missionaries who paid for these goods, by assigning for that purpose their own annual stipend, or what they realized from the sale of Mission products, such as tallow and hides, or what they obtained in the way of Mass intentions and other casual donations. The Fathers were thus enabled to purchase whatever the Mission might need, articles for the church, house utensils, clothing, groceries, implements for the field, tools for the shops, etc. Lists were drawn up of what was needed or received and these were known as *Memórias*. For a specimen we refer the reader to the Appendix in the second volume of *Missions and Missionaries of California*. The total amount of what the missionaries of Santa Barbara received during the decade ending with the year 1800 was $10,599. Of this sum $8,000 was paid by means of the sínodos, or annual allowances of the Fathers, and the rest by drafts from the storekeeper at the presidio.[7] Money, however, never reached the Missions from Mexico.

In 1800, a violent earthquake was felt at Santa Barbara. Only little damage was done to the Mission buildings, however.[8]

At the request of the viceroy, Governor Borica drew up fifteen questions and secretly sent them to the four presidio commanders, who were to forward their replies to Monterey. The governor's questions embodied various charges that had been made against the missionaries. Unwittingly the civil authorities offered the Fathers an opportunity of handing down to posterity a complete description of the inner workings of the various Missions. The report which Captain Goycoechea sent in was decidedly unfavorable to

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[6] Bancroft, vol. i, p. 672.

[7] Bancroft, vol. i, p. 673.

[8] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, vol. xix, p. 327.

THE PLOUGH OF MISSION DAYS. A PIECE OF TIMBER WITH AN IRON POINT.

the missionaries of Santa Barbara. For this reason Fr. Presidente Lasuén directed Fr. Tápis to reply to each charge fully and truthfully. Fr. Tápis complied, and exposed not only the ill will of the presidio commander, but also the falsity of the charges. In fact, his statement was so crushing that the Government of Mexico not only exonerated the Fathers but also recalled Goycoechea to Mexico. Referring the reader to our General History for the complete *Respuesta,* or reply of Fr. Tápis, we gather from it here only the following facts regarding Santa Barbara Mission. The reader will bear in mind, however, that these facts apply to the other missionary establishments as well, because all were conducted according to regulations laid down by the College of San Fernando.

With regard to religious instructions, Fr. Tápis showed that the Christian Doctrine was recited in Spanish early in the morning during holy Mass by the Indians who were over nine years of age. In the evening the same matter was recited in Indian. In the afternoon the younger children had to recite as much of this Doctrine as they had learned by heart. On Sundays the Fathers would explain it to all present in church.

Adult Indians who applied for Baptism were invariably instructed in the necessary points of Faith and in the Commandments and Precepts before they received the Sacrament of Baptism.

Where more than one Indian language was spoken, as was generally the case, Spanish naturally became the universal means of communication. In time all spoke Castilian.

As a rule, the converts lived at the Mission; but at stated times they were permitted to visit their pagan relatives.

The Indians at the Mission were given three warm meals a day. In the morning, the meal consisted of a large dipperful of nourishing *atole,* a kind of mush or gruel, which was equal to two pounds. At noon, the amount was double and consisted of *pozole* or thick soup of meal, vegetable, and meat. In the evening, the same quantity of *atole* was given.

Every day, therefore, each Indian received eight pounds of nourishing food, not counting the fruits. "That this was sufficient," Fr. Tápis remarks, "any one can see, for some of the *pozole* remains over and is fed to the cattle." During harvesting season, each laborer in the field received an extra two pounds of *atole* or *pozole*. Every three days, the same extra allowance was served to those at the Mission. The same was done every Sunday in Lent and on the principal feast days after holy Mass. The sick were denied nothing that they desired and that could be procured. Fasting was never imposed as a punishment, no matter what the offense of an Indian might have been; nor were the usual rations curtailed.

At the end of the year, every Indian received a blanket. Every six months the men and boys received a new pair of breeches and every seven months a new shirt. The women and girls received chemises every seven months and also skirts. All this clothing was of a bluish wool. The skirts were of a kind of sack-cloth made at the Mission. When the missionaries observed that in some particular case the clothing was insufficient or worn out, they provided the Indian with new clothing. After the looms were introduced, the clothing improved. Cattle herders wore the *manga,* an oblong blanket which was round at the two extremeties and had a slit in the center for the head. They wore boots or shoes, leggings, and a hat. Before a neophyte received new clothes, the old clothes had to be returned. These were then burnt, so that no clothing worn by a sick person might by accident be given to another. For the infants the mothers were given whatever they needed. The sick were provided with a mattress.

In the early days of the Mission, the habitations of the neophytes did not differ from those of the pagans, except that they were larger and wider, measuring in some cases six, and even seven and eight yards in width. Later, adobe structures were substituted and roofed with tiles. These adobe houses were six or seven yards in length and four

and a half yards in width. Each had a door and a window. The habitation of the unmarried women and girls, in which they passed the night together, in the year 1800, was seventeen yards long and seven wide; but as the number of inmates increased, the building was enlarged. The floor was of brick, and high up there was a large window for light and ventilation. All facilities were provided. When the nights were cold, a fire was kept up, while a candle burnt all night. During the daytime, after finishing their tasks, the unmarried women and girls were permitted to visit and remain with their parents or relatives in the neophyte village. "It has been observed," Fr. Tápis writes, "that seldom any of this class dies, unless it be one of those who are given to running away to the mountains."

As to the unmarried men and boys, Fr. Tápis says: "The practice is and has been the following: After supper the boys and the unmarried men assemble in the *pozolera,* the place where the *pozole* is cooked, and there they say their prayers together and sing the Salve Regina in honor of the Blessed Virgin. After that they are free to sleep in the Mission village with their families or friends; but, as every night they arrange for some dance or other among themselves in the *pozolera,* or in the courtyard of the Mission, or get some of the youths to play the violin, viola, and guitar, or entertain themselves at some game, most of them remain until the Poor Souls' Bell, which is rung at eight o'clock. Then many leave. Others depart at nine o'clock, when the gate of the courtyard is locked. A number of them remain to sleep there, because they find it more convenient to sleep in the courtyard where the *pozolera* remains open and where they can be together. In the morning, at the sound of the bell for prayers, the gate of the courtyard is unlocked. When it is broad daylight, the apartment of the girls is unlocked from the outside by one of the Fathers, unless an alcalde is in charge.

"The hours for work are also regulated," Fr. Tápis writes. "The ordinary hour for ringing the bell to go to work is

more than one hour after sunrise. At the sound of the bell, all the Indians, except those who labor at piecework, assemble in the courtyard, and there the work for the day is assigned to each one. Many first go to their houses and from there to their work, which then does not begin till at least

ONE OF THE BELLS, AND THE MANNER OF RINGING MISSION BELLS.

two hours after sunrise. They stop working at a quarter past eleven, at which hour the Fathers take their meal. In the afternoon, they never work more than one hour and a half, save those who are engaged in sowing, planting, or harvesting. Those occupied with piecework, weavers, tile

and brick makers, have a task assigned them that many finish by noon, so that for the rest of the day they are free to do what they please, provided it does not conflict with the regulations."

In the evenings, on holidays, and in free time, the Indians were at liberty to dance and sing, or to play their games, or to take a walk to the beach. Later on, musical instruments afforded them pleasant recreation. In addition, Fr. Tápis reports, "the practice at Santa Barbara Mission has been the following: Every Sunday after holy Mass, at the church door or in front of the priests' rooms, the names are read aloud of one-fifth of the neophytes who might go on an excursion. These names are written in a booklet in order to keep account, so that all may have their turn at going away. To those who hale from distant rancherías two weeks' leave of absence is granted; the others may be absent one week. Moreover, if during the four weeks that they spend at the Mission any one shows a necessity of going away, he is permitted to go. During the week many ask for a day off, in order to go fishing, or to visit the presidio, or to go to the beach. These, too, are gratified. Only at the time of harvest, which lasts one month, more or less, the Indians do not leave. After that, however, all leave in parties, alternating every two weeks. Permission to leave is not granted if during the week a holy day of obligation occurs; but in the week immediately following, two-fifths of the Mission people have their outing." Truly, the missionary rule was a mild one! No army, labor union, or school grants such liberties.

French, English, and especially Spanish navigators regarded this free intercourse of the neophytes with the pagans as highly detrimental to the cause for which the missionaries were laboring. Fr. Lasuén concedes that their objections are well founded; "for," as he writes, "by sharing in their former wild freedom, they retained liking for it and in a few weeks lost the instruction and the civilized habits which it had taken them so long to acquire; but critics

finally agreed with me that it was a necessary evil, and a lesser one than not to let them go; because, being continually tempted by their pagan friends and relatives, they would leave without permission, as many of them do any way."[9] We may add that by this method many pagans became acquainted with the Mission life and finally submitted to the Christian way of living.

To uphold order and discipline certain police regulations were necessary, just as is the case with civilized people. "The punishments resorted to at Santa Barbara Mission," Fr. Tápis tells us, "are the shackles, the lash, and the stocks, but only when we find that corrections and reproofs are unavailing. Seldom are the women punished with any of the above instruments but the stocks. There is no jail or calaboose. The *pozolera* can not be considered a calaboose, inasmuch as it is open day and night and is always visited by the Indians; but the stocks are there, which is the most common punishment. We shall describe how the punishment is given. A man, a boy, or a woman, runs away or does not return from the excursion, so that other neophytes must be sent after them. When such a one is brought back to the Mission, he is reproached for not having heard holy Mass on a day of obligation. He is made to see that he has of his own free will taken upon himself this and other Christian duties, and he is warned that he will be chastized if he repeats the transgression. He runs away again, and again he is brought back. This time he is chastized with the lash or with the stocks. If this is not sufficient, as is the case with some who disregard a warning, he is made to feel the shackles, which he must wear three days while at work. This same punishment is meted out to such as are caught in concubinage. This order is not observed, however, with those who steal something of value or who engage in a dangerous fight. Such are first chastized and then made to abhor theft or exhorted to preserve peace. It has been

[9] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 567.

noticed that this is the most successful way of maintaining public and private tranquillity.

"The stocks in the apartment of the girls and unmarried women are older than the Fathers who report on the Mission. As a rule, the women are punished with one, two, or three days in the stocks, according to the gravity of the offense. If the delinquents prove obstinate in their evil relations, or if they run away, they are chastized in the women's apartment by the hand of another woman.

"The Indians feel that they are never punished without first being fully convinced of their guilt. Hence it is that the neophytes humbly accept their punishment and afterwards are as affectionate toward the Fathers as before."

In selling Mission products, such as hides, tallow, fat, seeds, grain, blankets, cloth, etc., the Fathers adhered strictly to the price list which the governors drew up for them as also for the colonists and the soldiers. Thus for instance. Governor Borica fixed the price of wheat at $3.00 a fanéga or hundredweight; but when there was a surplus of provisions, Fr. Tápis tells us, nineteen fanégas were sold to the presidio for $2.62 a fanéga. This year (1800) it was sold at $2.25 a fanéga. When there was corn to spare, it sold at $1.50 a fanéga. Heifers are not sold at all; but the price for fat cattle was $6.00 a head; and now (1800), when the herds are numerous, they sell for $5.00 a head. The comandante sells blankets made on his looms for $1.50 a piece. Last year, the Mission sold them at $1.12. Now (1800) they sell at $1.25, because they are of better quality and heavier." All the money went into the Mission fund for the benefit of the neophytes. With excusable pride Fr. Lasuén writes at this time: "In all the years of my missionary life, and they number more than thirty-six, I have not heard of half a *reál* (6¼ cents) in the use of which any missionary might have been unworthy the name of a good Franciscan. Thanks be to God!"[10]

[10] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 580.

CHAPTER VIII.

Epidemic and Nearly Disastrous Consequences.—The Island Indians.—Building Activities.—Church Goods Acquired.—Mission Village Enlarged.—Various Ranchos.—Large Reservoir Constructed.—More Additions to the Village.—Fountain and Lavatory Built.—Earthquake.—A Te Deum.

MORE than a century ago, Santa Barbara was visited by an epidemic similar to the one that caused so much distress the world over within the last thirty years. Under date of January 5, 1801, the commander of the presidio informed the governor that Ensign Cota, three soldiers, and a colonist had died of catarrh and pleurisy, and that others were seriously ill.[1]

The malady passed away; but few were aware how nearly it had occasioned a disaster that would have wiped out the Mission and perhaps the entire Spanish population. In reference to it and by way of explanation, Fr. Presidente Estévan Tápis, on March 1, 1805, wrote from Santa Barbara to Governor Arrillaga as follows: "When, in 1801, an epidemic of pneumonia and *dolor de costado* (acute pain in the side) carried away many gentiles and Christians, one neophyte woman sufficed to delude the Christian Indians of Santa Barbara. After a feigned trance, she declared that Chupu (called Sup in the *Respuesta*) had appeared to her and had assured her that all the gentiles would die of the epidemic if they allowed themselves to be baptized, and that the same would happen to the Christians if they failed to offer alms to Chupu and refused to wash their head with a certain water. Immediately, although it was midnight, the news of this revelation spread through all the huts of the Mission, and nearly all the neophytes, including the alcaldes, hastened to the habitation of the visionary in order

[1] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Benicia, Military,* xxix, pp. 203-204.

to offer seeds, beads, and trinkets, and to renounce Christianity. It is to be noted that, while the mischievous imposture ran through all the rancherías of the channel and the sierra, the missionaries knew nothing of the commotion; for Chupu had at the same time revealed that whoever informed the Fathers of it should die immediately. For three days, we were ignorant of the trouble, until finally one of the neophytes overcame his fear and told us all that had happened. Now, if the Indian woman had added that, to stay the epidemic, it would be necessary to kill the missionaries and the two guards, the alcaldes and the rest would have given credit to this part of the revelation as readily as to the other. Who would have escaped death, and who would have notified the presidio, although it is only half a league distant? Through the goodness of God this did not happen; yet it is enough that it might have happened."[2]

About the beginning of the nineteenth century efforts were made by the missionaries to bring the Gospel to the inhabitants of the channel islands. What was actually done will be told in a subsequent chapter. It is interesting to note right here, however, that the subject engaged the attention of the Spanish Government in Mexico as early as 1770. It seems the proposition of transferring the Indians from the islands was seriously discussed in the Capital, and favored by the officers in California. The plan did not then receive the approbation of Viceroy De Croix, however, as may be inferred from the following note addressed by him under date of November 12, 1770, to Governor Fages: "The inhabitants of the islands that form the channel of Santa Barbara must not be taken from there, not even for the purpose of reducing them to the Missions of the mainland; for besides the grave consequences that might result from depopulating these islands, the Indians that live on them can be instructed by the Fathers of the Missions in the vicinity when such Indians pass over to the mainland. If the soil

2 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 613-614.

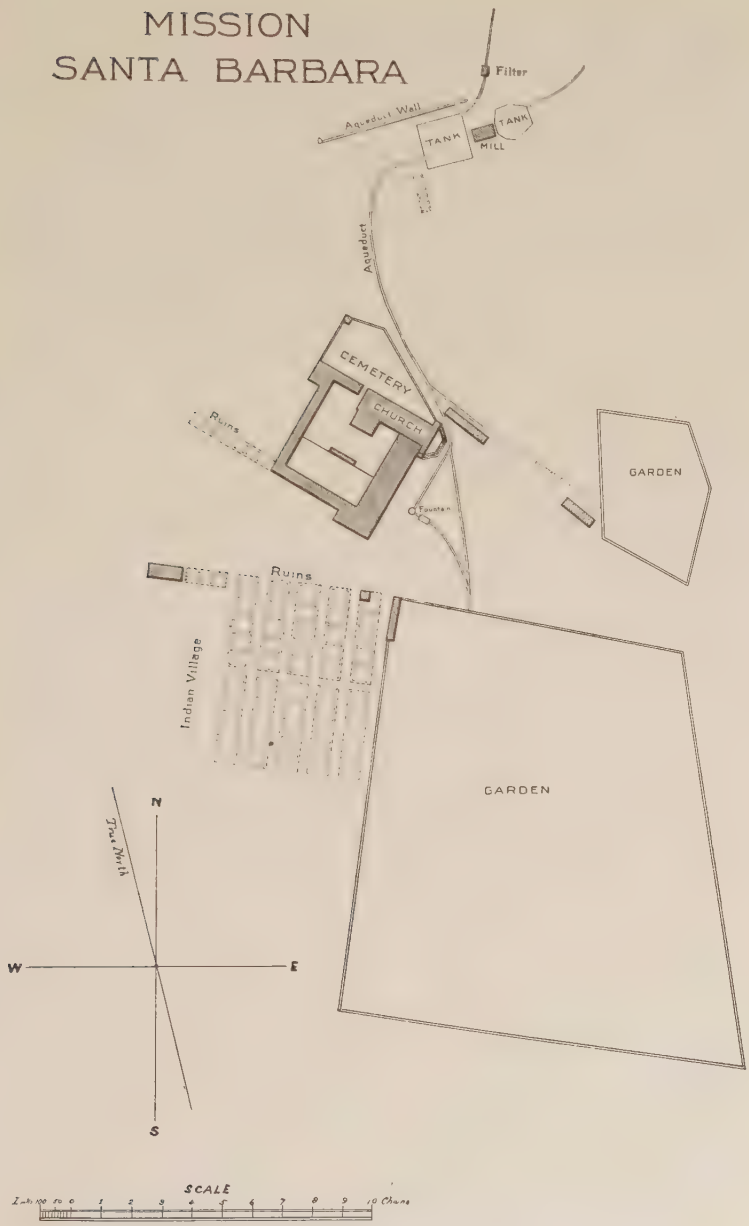
and conditions on said islands are suitable for establishing Missions there, however, the corresponding means will be provided, which particular matter I am also communicating to the Rev. Fr. Presidente."

On June 20, 1771, Governor Pedro Fages in reply wrote to Viceroy De Croix: "The Fr. Presidente of these Missions and I have agreed that the inhabitants of the islands that form the Channel of Santa Barbara should not be removed to the Missions on the mainland."[3] With that the question was dropped till it was again discussed thirty years later.

Resuming the description of the building activities, we have to note that in 1801, thirty-one adobe houses were erected in the Mission village for as many neophyte families. They were in every detail like the fifty-one erected during the two preceding years. Likewise, in 1801, another large adobe house with corridor was constructed which measured 58 feet in length and 17 feet in width. The building, plastered and roofed with tiles, was divided into a bedroom, a reception room, a kitchen, and a hennery. Fr. O'Keefe thinks this structure was set aside for the use of the gardener and his family. The report for this year also adds that a great many pagan Indians had applied for Baptism.

Much building was done during 1802. Thirty-one new adobe houses were put up in the Mission village, so that now there were in all 113 dwellings. These were enclosed on three sides by a wall about 8 feet high. One side was left open for additional structures of the same kind. Then a building of adobe was erected measuring 55 feet in length and 17 feet in width. It contained five tanks of brick and mortar, which were used for tanning all kinds of hides. Adjoining it a house was built for the mayordomo. It was 41 feet long and 17 feet wide and comprised a bedroom, a reception room, and a kitchen. Along these two buildings extended a corridor. Finally, in the Mission, there

[3] *Archivo National,* 66. *Courtesy of Prof. H. E. Bolton.*


MISSION
SANTA BARBARA
Filter
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CEMETERY
CHURCH
Ruins
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Indian Village
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True North
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SCALE
10 Chains

were erected of adobe and mortar five rooms for various uses, measuring in all 110 by 17 feet.

Among the additions that were made in 1801 to church and sacristy we find a silver, gold-plated chalice; a silver vial for the Chrism; a statue of Our Lady of Sorrows; another of St. Michael; and a third of St. Francis. These three statues were three feet in height. In 1802, the Mission procured for the Baptistry a painting of St. John the Baptist. The next year, a silver crown, gold-plated, was obtained for the statue of the Immaculate Conception, also a silver halo for the statue of St. Joseph, and finally a small silver crown for the statue of the Infant Jesus.

In this same year, 1803, the Mission village received an addition of forty-eight new adobe houses, similar in shape and equipment to those previously erected. Of special interest is the fact that in this year a church was built in the ranchería of San Miguel, about two leagues distant from the Mission. The ranchería was known to the Indians as Sagspileel and it lay near a laguna. The church was 61 feet long and 25 feet wide. In this way, the Christian Indians of that neighborhood had a better chance to attend holy Mass and to receive catechetical instruction. The ruins of the church could still be seen in 1886, near Dan Hill's old residence, at the so-called *Patera.*

In 1804, thirty-seven new adobe houses were erected for the neophytes in their village, while a large plot of ground was surrounded with an adobe wall and set aside for the use of the neophytes.

During this same year, according to Fr. O'Keefe, a new corral was constructed at Tecolote. The report for this year tells us that on July 28, 29, and 30, 1,084 head of sheep were branded at Mission San Buenaventura and exchanged for another herd of the same number, which was then sent to stock Tecolote. The ranch of San Miguel had 2,710 sheep, that of De las Armas had 2,280 sheep, and 2,520 head of black cattle were divided among these places. The Mission owned as many as 11,500 head of sheep and

3,500 head of black cattle, 540 mares and foals, and 238 tame horses. The ranch of San Marcos or Mistwaghehewaug was also stocked this year from the herds mentioned. A large vineyard was planted; and several houses were built, one for the mayordomo, the others for various uses at the ranch, and especially as store-rooms at the vineyard. The ruins of these houses could still be seen in 1886.

In the Biennial Report for 1804, Fathers Cortés and Amestoy remark in a *Nota* that for the two years 1802-1804 the total increase in the number of neophytes should be 802, but that an increase of only 690 is noted because 112 neophytes, after receiving Baptism at Mission Santa Barbara, had moved to the new Mission of Santa Inés, which was founded on September 17, 1804.

According to Fr. O'Keefe, "all the ranches on the Santa Inés River, including San Marcos, belonged to Mission Santa Barbara, and that the property of this Mission extended to the so-called Rincón below. All, or nearly all, had been stocked with various animals, cattle, sheep, goats, horses, etc., while the best of the arable land was sown to wheat, corn, barley, beans, peas, etc. The principal ranches for wheat were San Pedro y San Pablo or Dos Pueblos, called by the Indians Miquigui or Mekeguwe; San Estévan, in the native tongue called Toquini; and San Miguel, which the Indians called Sagspileel or Mescaltitan. Corn and beans, etc., were also planted in San José or Abajo, in San Juan Bautista or the Sauzal, the present Hope Ranch, and in the Arroyo del Burro. The Modoc road absorbs a part of it and runs through it as far as the bridge. Toquini is all the land north of the present stage road, beginning west of Arroyo Pedregoso at the new bridge and continuing to the Arroyo del Burro. The foundation of a large stone wall may yet be seen a little beyond the bridge west of Pedregoso. This was a large corral for various animals, chiefly for horses. A spring of water flows near Mr. Dixie Thompson's house."

In 1805, thirty-six additional Indian dwellings were built

in the village, which were now 234 in number. All had their separate doors and windows. Two large granaries and a third house of the same size for lumber were also erected in this year.

Among the additions made this year to the sacristy were a silver chalice, two missals, a red cope, and two white chasubles.

In 1806, a reservoir of masonry was constructed to collect water for the Mission gardens, orchards, etc., Its dimensions were 110 feet square and 7 feet deep. This reservoir is still in perfect condition and supplies water for the city of Santa Barbara. It is a pity that the Fathers recorded no further details of this work which for the time was a stupendous undertaking.

In this year, on July 19, as Fr. Zalvidea reports, an expedition set out in order to examine localities and sites suitable for new Missions. Fr. Zalvidea accompanied the expedition as chaplain. In the rancherías near Mission Santa Inés, he baptized twenty-three Indians *in articulo mortis*. These Baptisms are recorded in the Mission Register under numbers 331-354. All were adults, one woman of the Ranchería of Sgene being ninety-two years of age.

In 1807, eighteen more houses were added to the neophyte village. For the guards, four houses were erected. They faced the church, but were 413 feet or about 138 yards distant from it. Furthermore, across the Pedregoso Creek, about a mile and a half north of the Mission, a dam was constructed, at a point high enough to allow the water to flow down an open aqueduct into the mill reservoir. This mill with its reservoir was built at the same time behind and above the larger reservoir mentioned before and now belonging to the City Water Company. The mill is in ruins and a small part of its reservoir has fallen in. The ruins may be seen just below the road that leads to the Normal School.

For the church the Fathers report having procured a *custodia* or ostensorium.

ABOVE, THE MISSION AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1870. BELOW, FOUNTAIN AND LAVATORY VIEWED FROM THE MISSION ABOUT THE SAME PERIOD.

In 1808, especially for the benefit of the neophytes,[4] a fountain and a lavatory were constructed in front of the Mission, about three hundred feet east of the Indian village. Both still exist, although only the fountain still serves its purpose and sends up its streams of water, while goldfish disport themselves in the basin that surrounds it. Furthermore, the windows of the church and sacristy were supplied with panes of glass, and a building was put up for the manufacture of pottery. In this year, too, though not included in the General Reports, 211 *arrobas,* or 5,475 pounds, of hemp were produced. In this same year, 1808, the Fathers began to construct a new front of masonry (cal y canto) to the Mission building. It seems that till then the front wing on the side facing the city consisted only of a single row of rooms with a gable roof covered with tiles. Now the missionaries began to erect another row of larger rooms all along the front, but of masonry and with a flat roof of polished concrete. This work continued during the years 1809 and 1810, but it was not finished till 1811.

In 1811, the report says, the new addition of apartments intended for the Fathers and the guests was completed. Then along its entire length the corridor with its stone arches, its massive pillars of brick tiles, and its floor of the same material, was erected. In this same year of 1811, the fachada of the church was completed. In his report for that year Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada promised to furnish a description of it, but failed to keep the promise. Perhaps the work was not quite finished when, in December, 1812, the earthquake damaged the church beyond repair.

The year 1812 will be an ever memorable one. Fathers Gil and Amestoy on December 31 reported as follows: "The terrible earthquake of December 21 and the days that fol-

[4] "en beneficio de la humanidad," "for the benefit of humanity," as the Fathers put it. It certainly was in those times a boon for the traveller and every one else as no other water was accessible. The Indian women of the village, of course, appreciated the lavatory where they could do their washing and gossiping with facility.

lowed have damaged the Mission to such an extent that all the buildings will have to be closely examined and more or less repaired, especially the church edifice, in place of which, after permission is obtained from the Government, a new building will certainly have to be erected; because comparing the labor necessary to repair it with the work of a new edifice, the difference will be small; and comparing the little satisfaction which repaired walls would give us with the security which new and strong walls on a solid foundation would provide, the reasons for the latter will outweigh the former. This plan was accordingly decided upon."

On October 21, 1813, Very Rev. José Joaquín Calvo wrote from Culiacán that the king had ordered the solemn singing of the Te Deum, illuminations, salvos of the artillery, and the ringing of bells in thanksgiving for the triumph of the Russian arms over Napoleon, the disturber of the tranquillity of the whole world. These instructions were most probably carried out.

CHAPTER IX.

Official and Detailed Information on the Character, Habits, Language, Dress, Food, Customs, Virtues and Vices of the Santa Barbara Indians.

TOWARD the end of the year 1812, the Spanish Government demanded extensive information regarding the aborigines in the Missions under its jurisdiction in America. Under date of October 6, 1812, the Minister of Foreign Relations, Don Ciríaco Carvajal, accordingly sent a list of thirty-six questions to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in the New World, which they were to transmit to the missionaries. The *respuestas* or replies which the missionaries drew up contain highly interesting information concerning the Indians in their charge. The replies of Fathers Olbés and Amestoy of Santa Barbara Mission follow in subjoined order.

With regard to the first and second questions which read: "Into how many castes is the population divided and what is their origin, barring the Spaniards?" Fr. Olbés, who alone signed the report, seems not to have understood its import; for he replied simply that it was not known into how many castes the population of the neighboring presidio was divided, "although," as he added, "it is well known that not all are legitimate European Spaniards or Americans, despite the fact that all regard themselves as such." The rest of the report is to the point.

"In this Mission," he writes, "there is but one Indian language. Although some neophytes are from rancherías where the language differs somewhat, only one language is spoken at the Mission. Some understand a little Castilian and many are inclined to learn it.

"The married people love each other and love their children; but the education they give them amounts to nothing,

nor do they punish or correct them. The missionaries are careful to educate both parents and children, for the parents are little fit to do this, being themselves in this respect little more than children.

"As regards the Europeans and the Americans, the Indians manifest a supreme indifference, as they do not distinguish between them. To them all are simply *gente de razon.* No aversion to them is noticed.

"As they are but recently converted, the majority show no inclination to learn to read and write in their own language. In their pagan state, they do not write on paper or on trees.

"In order that they devote themselves to speaking Spanish, it is necessary to give them time. The reason why they do not know it is because they have frequent intercourse and communication with their pagan relatives, and because those who receive Baptism are of an age in which it is impossible for them to learn it; nor do they care about it.

"As to the virtues they practice, it may be said in general that the women are more pious and inclined to virtue; but our neophytes have only recently joined the Mission; wherefore it can not be said which particular virtue predominates. It is only a short time since the words 'virtue and 'Religion' came to their ears. We are endeavoring to instil into them the rudiments of Religion and virtue, so that in time they may devote themselves to the practice of them.

"Every effort is being made that the converts may forget the heathen practices.

"The catechism which is prescribed by the Superiors we have here in the language of the Indians. It is taught both in Indian and in Castilian.

"Though we tried hard, we have not been able to ascertain whether in their pagan state they practiced any formal idolatry or vane observations. Now, of course, as Christians they show much less inclination to idolatry, and we are continually warning them that they must forget the maxims of heathenism.

"These Missions are active reductions; and, although this one exists only twenty-nine years, there are very few of the first neophytes still among the living, and few who are Christians twenty years. Most of them are Christians twelve years, others six years, others two years, while others are but recently baptized, and some are now receiving the preliminary instructions.

"The Indians here contract marriage according to the Rite of Mother Church. Hence, when a neophyte couple want to marry, they present themselves to the missionaries and express their wish, at the same time showing the consent of their parents. Then everything is observed that Mother Church prescribes for the marriage ceremony.

"We missionary Fathers are careful, as far as possible, that the Mission lacks nothing in the way of medicines, very frequently needed for ourselves as well as for the neophytes. Besides these medicines, other methods of curing ills are in vogue. The most common are purging oneself with sea water; bathing in sea water, and in other but the warm waters that are in the vicinity of the Mission; and applying injections. These medical treatments are the most common among the Indians and the least dangerous, considering what little care they take of themselves, and how frequently, when taking some medicine, they are told to avoid being in a draft, or getting wet, or exposing their health to other dangers. The infirmities among these Indians are the same that are common to all men. The most pernicious, however, and the one from which they suffer most in this region, is the *mal gálicò,* or French disease. All are infected with it, owing to the fact that they do not hesitate marrying such as are suffering from this disease. On this account few children are born, and of these many die soon after birth, so that the number of deaths exceeds that of births by three to one.

"We do not know that these Indians had any calendar in their pagan state. For the hours they were guided by the sun, and the months they reckoned by the moon. Now,

however, as Christians they are governed for labor, meals, and sleep by the sound of the bell.

"The meals of the Indians can not be counted, because it may be said that for them the entire day is one continuous

SUN DIAL IN USE DURING THE MISSION PERIOD, AS THE MISSIONARIES CARRIED NO WATCHES. THIS ONE IS IMBEDDED IN STONE WALL BACK OF THE CEMETERY.

meal. Even during the night, should they awaken from sleep, they are wont to reach out for something to eat. Their meals at the Mission consist of meat, corn, beans, peas, etc. Of these an abundance is given to each neophyte by the missionary Fathers, and they prepare it as suits them

best. Besides what the Mission gives them, the neophytes are very fond of what they lived on in paganism, as the meat of deer, rabbits, rats, squirrels, or of any little animal they can catch; while those on the seashore have a craving for whatever the ocean produces.

"These Indians have no fermented drinks whatever of their own, but they hanker after those of the white people, wherefore we conceal them.

"When these neophytes were pagans, they worshipped neither the sun nor the moon; nor do they show any leaning in that direction. In paganism they paid homage to a certain *Sup;* but they have no figure of this being, nor can they say who it is. In honor of this *Sup* they throw on the roads and in various places some seeds when they are gathering them, and also little feathers of birds, as if in gratitude and acknowledgment for the seeds, venison, birds, etc., which they may have obtained in the course of that year.

"They adhere to the customs and ideas of their ancestors; but they do not know whence their ancestors came or where they originated.[1]

"When any one dies, they are accustomed to invite the relatives of the deceased, give them the best food they have from the seeds they use in paganism; and all bewail the dead. With regard to the burial, they have no ceremony whatever. At the Mission all are buried according to Rites of Mother Church.[2]

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[1] Kroeber says: "With Santa Barbara the Shoshoneans are left behind, and the territory of the Chumash is entered. The missions of Santa Inés and San Luis Obispo, as well as those of San Buenaventura and Purisima, were also in the Chumash territory."—*A Mission Record of the California Indians,* by Prof. A. L. Kroeber, Berkeley, The University Press, p. 15.

[2] Kroeber writes: (p. 15) "This is the first mission we have encountered where burial is the native mode of disposal of the dead. The practice continues as far as San Francisco, and in fact to the north of it beyond the sphere of mission influence. It is accordingly evident that the custom of cremation was distinctive of the Indians

"These neophytes are as yet not in a condition to make any dealings or contracts whatever. Yet they observe great fidelity, and hate all cheating in things of little consideration or value, such as wild seeds of the field, which among them have great value because they produced them, and in the venison which they kill, and in other things of this kind which they sell to one another.

"Lying is very common among them, but not because they have any opinion on the subject.

"The dominant vices in both sexes are impurity and stealing.

"They enter into no bargains or contracts. They simply give or sell their seeds or goods for money or for beads which among them is equivalent to money.

"In these Missions all live in community. The missionaries supervise planting and harvesting, for the neophytes are not capable of doing so themselves. In this respect they are like children; and they would just as leave go to the sierra or to their ancient rancherías as occupy themselves in this way. Hence it is only with care and industry that the Fathers can succeed.

"No inclination to anger is observed. Among themselves they employ no kind of chastisement. The Fathers alone through the alcaldes have charge of the chastisements, which are not administered as much as they are deserved.

"The Indians of this territory never offered any other sacrifices besides those mentioned in number 19; much less did they offer human sacrifices. As to burials, in paganism

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in the mission portion of the California coast, except only the Chumash. Archaeological investigations confirm the statements of early eye-witnesses. Numerous graves have been found in the Chumash region, but scarcely any in the regions to the north and south; except in certain layers of the shellmounds bordering on San Francisco Bay, in which region both cremation and burial seem to have been practiced according to circumstances or period.—By 'pots' are meant steatite vessels, not pottery, which has not been found so far north on the coast. The same explanation may apply to the 'pots' mentioned by the San Fernando informant."

they bury with the bodies all the pots and other poor belongings; then they blow smoke over the bodies in the direction of the four winds; and finally the relatives wail over the grave.

"All here live in community. They have everything in common; and all receive the same assistance.

"In their pagan state, these Indians had no caciques or chiefs, although in every ranchería or village they had one or more whom they called captains. These had no control over the others, however; nor did the others obey them or recognize any authority in them, as they had only to summon the people in case trouble broke out with the Indians of another ranchería. At their dances or feasts they would present these chiefs with beads. Previous to the conquest these beads or abalórios were made of shells. At present, the Fathers annually choose for alcaldes and regidores from among the Christians such as they judge most rational among the neophytes. These then direct the other neophytes under the supervision of the Fathers. The Government approves them. In civil, political, and domestic affairs they are subject to the Fathers, while in criminal matters they are responsible to the comandantes and corporals of the guard.

"The people in this province, known as the *gente de razon,* (whites) are so lazy and indolent that they know nothing more than how to ride horseback. Labor of any kind they regard as dishonorable. They are of the opinion that only the Indians ought to work; wherefore they solicit the service of the Indians for even the most necessary things for their maintenance such as cooking, washing, doing garden work, taking care of the babies, etc. Generally the missionary Fathers let them have the Indians for work.

"The neophytes are very fond of singing and of playing any kind of instrument, whether it be a wind or a string instrument. In paganism they had not, nor did they know, any kind of wind or string instrument. Nor have they any

other songs but tunes to certain unmeaning words which they hummed at their dances.

"The Fathers are solicitous that the neophytes go dressed in a most decent, though humble, manner, the clothes being of a coarse woolen cloth or of sack-cloth. Those who excell in industry, diligence, etc., are given clothes similar to those worn by the white people. They are fond of appearing well dressed; but this is not the case with the old men and old women; for at times it is necessary to have recourse to threats in order to induce them to cover themselves decently and modestly with the clothes that are given them.

"Santa Barbara, December 31, 1813.

"Fr. Ramon Olbés."[3]

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[3] *Santa Barbara Mission Archives.*

CHAPTER X.

Permit Required to Erect New Church.—Fathers not Independent.—Baptisms Administered after the Earthquake.—Site of the New and the Old Church.—Church Goods Acquired.—Island Indians.—The Memórias.—Dearth of Implements, etc.—Trading with Foreign Vessels.—Greed of Some Paisanos.—Fr. Ripoll to Governor Solá.—New Church Ready for the Blessing.—Fireworks not Overlooked.

AS STATED in a previous chapter, the earthquake in December, 1812, damaged the church of the Mission to such an extent as to render it unsafe for further use. To erect a new church the missionaries had to apply for permission to the governor. This they received in 1815, and immediately the work began. The new church, the fourth one to rise on the Mission site, was not completed, however, till 1820.

In this connection it may be well to note that the Fathers were not entirely free to follow their taste, ambition, wisdom, and piety in the erection of church buildings. A royal decree, which Fr. Presidente Lasuén had already communicated to the friars in a circular of April 3rd, 1802, imposed a restriction of which Viceroy Marquina reminded the missionaries in the following words: "In the royal decree of December 22nd, 1800, His Majesty among other things forbids the missionaries of Upper and Lower California to undertake the erection of new church buildings in the Missions in their charge without first agreeing with the governor of the territory. In this way they will avoid the impropriety that, for want of means for the expenses, the Indians may suffer from lack of support, inasmuch as many might be obliged to work when there are means for maintaining but few."[1]

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[1] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 601-602.

Art critics and other critics will do well to bear this in mind. The friars were not nearly so independent in the administration of their Missions as Bancroft, Hittell, and other superficial or malevolent writers would have the world believe.

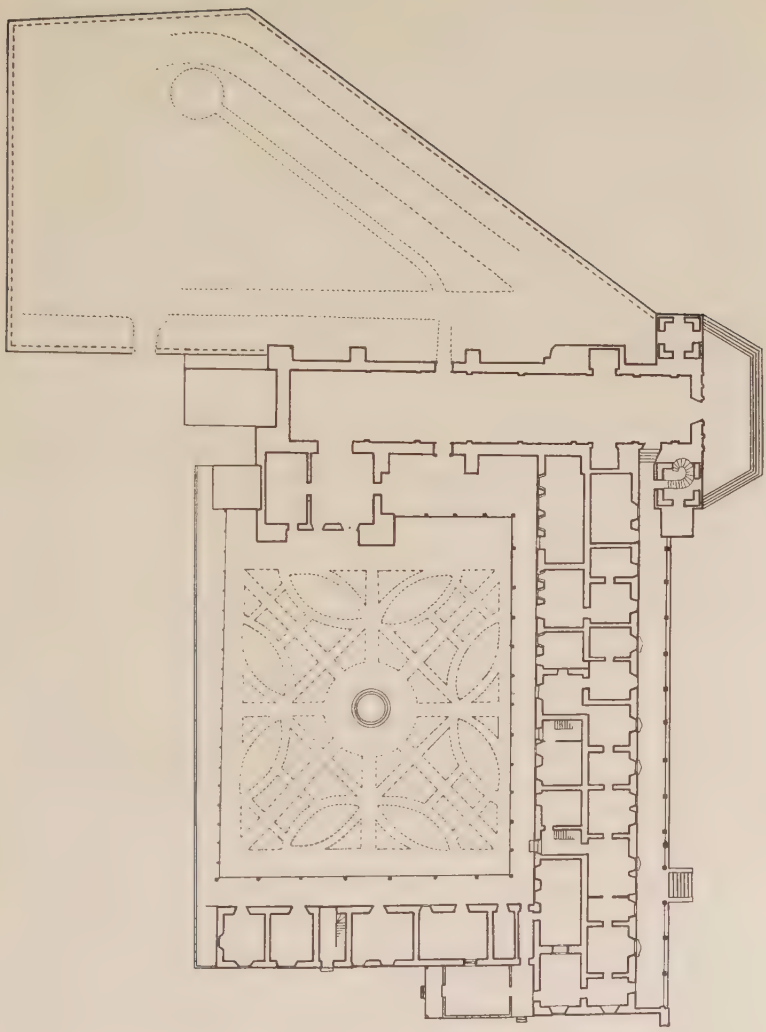
The last Baptism was administered in the ruined church on Sunday, December 20, 1812, the day before the earthquake. The next Baptism, on the following Wednesday, December 23, was administered "en el llano—in the field," as the record notes. We must not forget that the quakes continued almost without interruption all that week, insomuch that the Fathers and their neophytes found it safest to make their abode as best they could in the open. At the same time, they must have erected a temporary chapel of palisades and brushwood; for we find that from January 2 to August 24, 1813, the Sacrament of Baptism was administered "in the chapel of this Mission" or "in the *enramada* (bower) of this Mission," as the Fathers noted when making the entries. Thereafter, beginning with September 12, 1813, the entries in the Baptismal Register always read "en la iglesia de esta Mision—in the church of this Mission." This goes to show that repairs had been made on the damaged church, in the hope, no doubt, that it would not be necessary to erect a new edifice; but gradually the Fathers realized that this was inevitable wherefore they applied for the necessary permission.

It may sound strange, but everything corroborates the tradition that the new church was erected around and over the old one. At all events, it is certain that the damaged building was still standing on July 27, 1820, since on that day Fr. Ripoll administered Baptism "in the old church," as he expressly states. By that time, the new structure was practically finished, since it was solemnly dedicated on September 10, 1820, about six weeks later. During these six weeks, it would seem, it was cleared of the old church still standing within.

That this conjecture, as to where and how the new church

was erected, is correct we may infer from the fact that nowhere mention is made of a different site having been chosen for the new edifice. Moreover, there is no evidence that a change was made in the location of the cemetery, which at all the Missions lay next to the church. The strongest proof for the opinion that the new church was erected on the same site which the old one occupied, are the following facts. Fr. Andrés Dulanto died on February 13, 1808, and received burial "en la iglesia—in the church" on the following day. Now, if the new church was built on a site different from that of the old one, the remains of this missionary would have been removed to a place in the new church. This was always done and very carefully noted in the Registers at all the Missions; but of such a removal of Fr. Dulanto's remains there is not the slightest evidence in the old records of Mission Santa Barbara. The fact, too, that nowhere do we find it recorded that the remains of Fr. Antonio Paterna, who died on February 13, 1793, were ever removed from where they were interred on the day after his death, seems to indicate that the three churches of the Mission, dedicated in 1789, 1794, and 1820, occupied one and the same site, the southeastern corner of the Mission square. The reader will also remember how with each new church the dimensions were correspondingly larger; the first measuring 108 by 17 feet; the second, 124 by 25 feet; and the third, the present one, 165 by 39 feet.

In 1817, the front half of the wing that faced the presidio, and which had a flat roof, was remodeled to match with the rear half. Accordingly, the rafters, which had rotted, were replaced by longer ones of pine. The gable roof was then necessarily raised in order to cover both the front and rear half. Of course, tiles made by the Indians completed the roofing. In addition, a new building was put up in which to preserve the tools and implements. It was of adobe, and a portion of it was used as a granary. The dimensions were not recorded. Furthermore, the neophyte village received a thorough overhauling.



GROUND PLAN OF THE MISSION BUILDINGS, CHURCH, AND CEMETERY.

Meanwhile, the Fathers, solicitous for the beauty and serviceableness of the church goods, made many additions to the sacristy and sanctuary. Among those enumerated for the years 1817 and 1818 were a large processional cross and corresponding torches of silver, a crown and palm of silver for the statue of St. Barbara, an ostensorium of silver, and two large tower bells.

Under date of November 5, 1817, Fr. Vicente de Sarría, the Commissary Prefect of the Missions, wrote: "We have also the consolation to see all the people of the islands of the Santa Barbara Channel coming to the mainland in order to be cleansed in the saving waters of Baptism, and leaving their lands to live in the Missions." On this subject we shall have more to say later on.

So long as the *Memórias,* or annual supply of goods, came from Mexico, down to the year 1811, the missionaries had but to indicate the articles they wanted for their annual stipends, and for the products of the Missions sold in Mexico. The College procurator would send up the goods named. As the war in Mexico cut off these supplies, there was a dearth especially of ironware and iron implements. The foolish system prevailing under the Spanish rule, which forbade trading with any but Spanish vessels, prevented the Fathers from trading their products for such goods as were needed. A letter written to the governor by Fr. Ripoll on May 9, 1817, illustrates the conditions at all Missions in this respect. It reads as follows: "Just now we are in need of various articles, such as carpenter's tools, a forge, files, chisels, large saw, etc. I shall appreciate it very much if you could send these things in exchange for the goods forwarded to you. I have heard that they are in the warehouse at Monterey. Furthermore, I received notice that in your harbor there is a Russian ship loaded with everything, and it sells its goods for grain. As on another occasion we poor people of the south have not shared in this aid, with your favor this time we could obtain some iron tools and implements for the *new church.* If not, we shall

again have to practice patience. Please accept the respectful regards of my Fr. Suñer. We both wish Your Honor the best of health." Whether Fr. Ripoll's petition was successful, we are unable to say. Three months later, August 5, 1817, Fr. Ripoll informed the governor that Captain James Wilcox in his American brig had brought up from San Blas a quantity of iron (morillos cortados).[2]

Nor were the Fathers and Indians of Santa Barbara Mission spared the worry and annoyance which the missionaries at other missionary establishments suffered from such as coveted the land of the neophytes and utilized by the Missions for their benefit. The following letter written by Fr. Ripoll to Governor Solá six months later speaks for itself:

"Señor Gubernador: Fr. Francisco (Suñer), my companion, tells me that Your Honor had spoken to him or intimated to him that the herd of sheep which the Mission has in the Rancho del Refúgio ought to be removed. The demand, I suppose, comes from the retired Sergeant Don José Maria Ortega. I wonder at this, for he knows very well that, since establishing the rancho named, he has made the same demand with all governors, and has not succeeded for just and well-founded reasons to the contrary. The governors have not agreed to his proposition, nor given him any title of possession of a specified tract of land, even for that running from the dwelling of the rancho to El Cojo. It is the simple truth that there is no Mission which has so little territory as this one.

"Señor Gubernador! You may well believe that the government, foreseeing what would necessarily follow in the future, gave him permission, but nothing more, to have a certain number of cattle for his maintenance—that is to say, for his family—on a tract of land, for planting, and for a house of adobe, etc.—all for maintaining his family, keeping a dog, and a brand of his own. What happened, however?

[2] *Archb. Arch.*, nos. 753, 754.

It is not one family only, but a great many—his married children—all these he wants to keep there, and each one wants to have a shepherd dog, each wants to have his own brand, his own cattle, his own garden, his own sheep—in a word, each one wants to have a complete rancho. Only a few days ago one of his sons has placed a large flock of sheep, about two leagues from the rancho this way toward the Mission, with great prejudice to the herds of this Mission. I have notified him that he should withdraw, but I do not know that he will do so.

"Finally, may Your Honor take the trouble to examine what Fathers Tápis and Cortés in their time wrote on the subject,[3] and you will see that the Señores Ortega, not content with the permission to occupy the tract from the dwelling to El Cojo, which is about like that which the Mission has, even claim to have more than the Mission, whose neophytes have by nature the right, and so many families to maintain, that it is necessary to be very active in order to clothe and keep them in medium condition; and more so under the existing conditions with the mortality raging among the cattle and sheep for lack of pasture, and for not having whither to go for pasture.

"Enough. Pardon me for wearying Your Honor. Had it not been necessary, I should not have done so. My Fr. Francisco is very spiritual since he entered the religious exercise (retreat); for day before yesterday he began, and we do not see anything of him, not even for the meals, and so there is no chance for a social chat."

Fr. Ripoll's reference to the awful mortality among the livestock is to his letter addressed to the governor on March 12, 1817, when he reported that the deaths from hunger among the sheep and cattle already exceeded 4,000 head. By consulting the Table on Livestock, the reader will find the statement confirmed.

When work on the magnificent new church was almost

[3] *Archbishop's Archives,* nos. 752-755.

finished, the two missionaries, Fathers Francisco Suñer and Antonio Ripoll, encouraged by the people of the town, resolved to make its solemn dedication a glorious and memorable affair. The following letter reveals how the missionaries on such occasions never forgot their neophytes; and what, with those overgrown children, what would a celebration have been without noisy fireworks and artillery? Fr. Ripoll, therefore, under date of June 30, 1820, wrote as follows to Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá: "My dear friend and esteemed Sir:—Herewith I entreat Your Honor to be pleased to send me the permit allowing a certain Salvador Béjar, a rocket-maker, to come here for two months. Being of the military company of San Diego, he may not come without license from Your Honor. We need him in order that he may prepare some fireworks for our celebration, which we have postponed to September 8. Meanwhile, Your Honor will have time to despatch your orders and also to assist at the feast and be the *Padrino*.[4] As you have already promised a long time since, I hope you will be present. On this occasion you will behold our urban troops, who will march in good order and will be of great service. Regards from Fr. Francisco (Suñer), etc.—Fr. Antonio Ripoll."[5] The governor kindly granted the permission for which the missionary had asked.

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[4] Patron or official representative of the Spanish King, for as yet the Spanish flag waved over California.

[5] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Records*, vol. xi, p. 459.

CHAPTER XI.

Dedication of the New Church.—Civic and Religious Ceremonies.—Fireworks.—Blessing of the Church.—Bodies of Fathers Paterna and Dulanto Moved.—Festivities.—Description of the Exterior of the Church.—Interior of Church.—Bells.—Pews Lacking.—Jefferson on Pictures in Churches.—Church Goods.—How Procured.—Report of José de la Guerra.—First Election in Which Indians participate.—Mission Lands.

THE new and magnificent temple erected to Almighty God at Mission Santa Barbara was solemnly dedicated to the Divine Majesty, and in honor of the Virgin and Martyr, Saint Barbara, on Sunday, September 10, 1820. Fortunately, the details of the celebration are recorded in the Baptismal Register. They read as follows:

"Nota Singular é Instructiva.

"Inasmuch as the infant whose Baptism has just been entered (in the Register on September 13, 1820, number 4,181) is the first to be baptized in the new church of the Mission of Santa Barbara in Upper California, we missionaries in charge have deemed it proper to give here a true account of what took place at the dedication of the new church and of the celebrations, so that in the future there may be evidence for it and it may be transmitted to posterity.

"Three religious, missionaries of as many other Missions of New California, came to honor the occasion and to assist us, namely, Rev. Fr. José Señan, Vicário Foráneo to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Sonora, Vice-Prefect, and missionary of San Buenaventura; Rev. Fr. Luis Martínez, of Mission San Luis Obispo; and Rev. Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, of Mission San Juan Capistrano. Neither the missionary of Santa Inés nor the one of San Fernando, though both of neighboring Missions, could come because they were managing their respective Mission alone; nevertheless they

allowed their neophytes to come with their musicians and dancers, whom our alcaldes had invited for that purpose by sending commissioners from among themselves, as they are accustomed to do and as the Fathers permitted.

"The dedication took place on September 10, of this same year (1820). With his suite and company corresponding to his authority, the Padrino, Colonel of the Military and Governor of this Province, came down from Monterey, he having been invited for that purpose. Although he had been invited for September 7, the Vigil of the feast of the Nativity of the Most Holy Virgin, which feast day had been assigned for the celebration, he did not arrive till September 9. The ceremony then began on the appointed day, the feast of the Name of Mary. On that afternoon, the *afore-named* Rev. Fr. Presidente accompanied all the priests, the Honorable Padrino Solá, the captain and commander of the presidio, Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, with all his troops and officers, Don Narciso Fabregat, lieutenant of the auxiliary troops of Mazatlán, who had arrived in the preceding year with his alférez, sergeants, and corporals; and a great number of people of all stations and conditions. The *Te Deum* was chanted, whereupon solemn Compline followed, the celebrant being the Fr. Presidente, amid the great illumination of all the altars, especially of that of the Titular Saint. Then, in succession, were illuminated the (azoteas) housetops, the corridors, and the tower, the last-mentioned having many flags of all colors. Immediately, the musicians of the three Missions passed through the corridors, where they played with a will for about two continuous hours. Meanwhile, rockets, serpents, firecrackers were fired (tirandose en estas cohetas, buscapies, carretillas), followed at once by the castillo de fuego artificial (castle of artificial fire). Then came bull-baiting, the baitors having the same artificial fire, which caused the greatest fun and diversion. All this was repeated on the two following nights.

"On Sunday, the tenth of the month, which was the feast

of the Name of Mary, after the merry ringing of the many bells, solemn High Mass was sung, the Rev. Fr. Gerónimo Boscana being the celebrant, with Fr. Francisco Suñer, missionary of this Mission, serving as deacon, and Fr. Luis Martínez as sub-deacon. During the holy Mass the Fr. Presidente preached. On the next day, the eleventh, the coffins of the deceased religious who had died at this Mission, Fr. Antonio Paterna, its missionary, and Fr. José Dulanto, of Mission San Juan Bautista, who had come down ill, and lived here to recover, but whom God called to Himself, were taken from their tombs.[1] May they rest in peace! The remains were then placed in the center of the new church,[2] whereupon a solemn vigil was chanted for their repose, the Fr. Presidente officiating and the other missionaries assisting. With this the church celebration terminated.

"Immediately after going out, the soldiers, cavalry as well as infantry, continued the festivities they had commenced on the preceding day, while the Indians had their dances and all diverted themselves as best they could.

"Food, drink, and shelter were given to all who asked for or needed them; and they were given on a grand scale. To accommodate all, supplying them with whatever they needed, the Mission had at its disposal two houses of the whites, besides the barracks which did not prove sufficient. A man was appointed to serve the wine and brandy, until all had enough. Since the number of people was so large, it cost something; but the expenses were well applied, because without all was clatter, merriment, and diversion;

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[1] which in the old church had occupied places on either side of the altar, that of Fr. Paterna on the Epistle side and that of Fr. Dulanto on the Gospel side, as the records note. Accordingly, in the new church the tombs must have been somewhere near where the altar railing would be in the new church; for this reason the Fathers removed the remains to the center.

[2] That is to say in the crypt under the sanctuary of the new church, which exists to the present day.

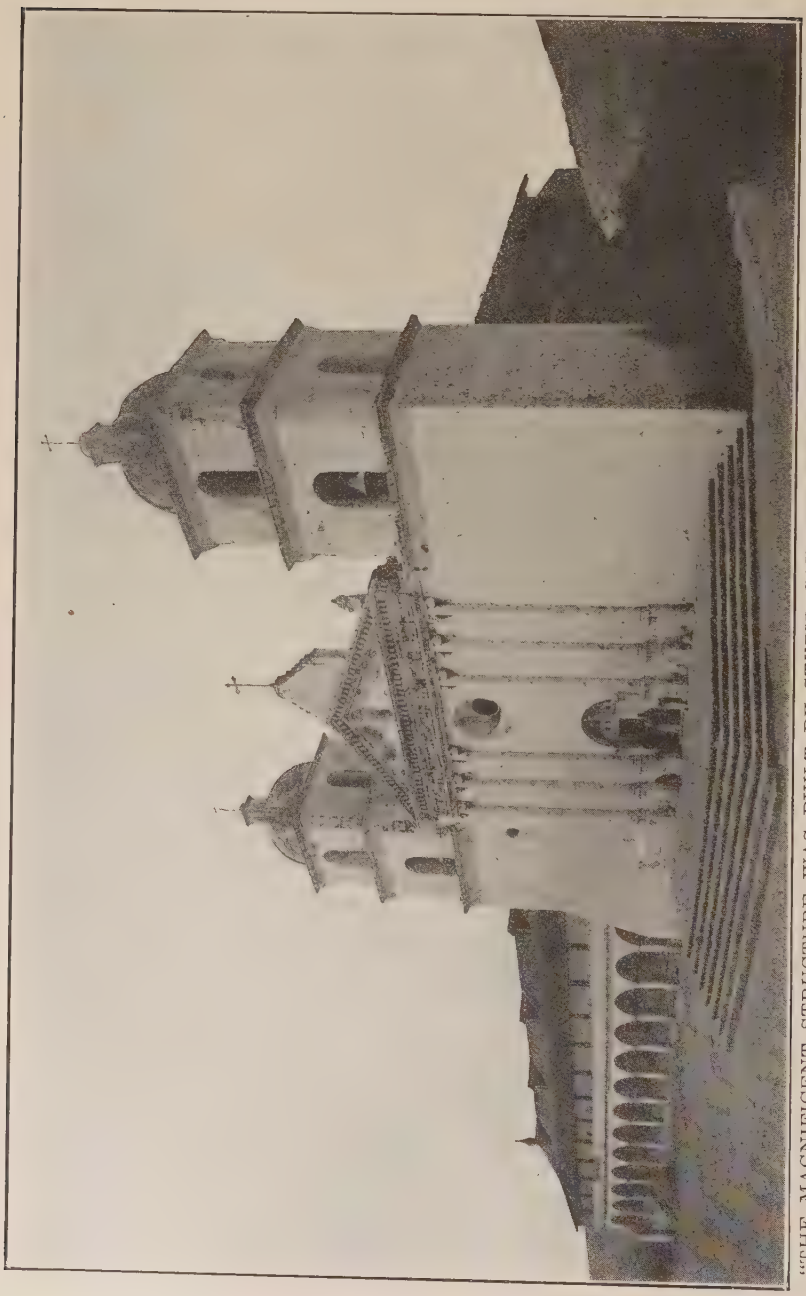
and thanks be to God, neither mishap nor quarrel, nor complaint occurred. It was a lively, continuous and pure blessing to the Lord and from the Lord. In order that there be evidence of this, we two missionaries signed on September 13, 1820.—Fr. Francisco Suñer." [3]

At the close of this memorable year, Fathers Suñer and Ripoll as usual report on the state of the Mission, and then describe the exterior and the interior of the new church. Of this they were justly proud, it having been erected under their supervision without as much as a penny from the government, to say nothing of the fact that all along they had to provide for the indolent and shiftless troops. It is worthy of note also that the magnificent structure was built, to use Mr. Charles Lummis's words in the case of San Xavier del Bac, Arizona, "by stupid savages held to their task by the magneticism and diplomacy of a couple of brown-robed missionaries."

The Fathers describe the church edifice in the following terms: "It is of dressed stone and mortar. The walls of solid sandstone and two varas, or nearly six feet thick, are strengthened by stone buttresses. The massive tower of the same material has two stories and holds six bells." Three of the bells were stationary, wherefore they could only be tolled. The other three, however, swung on a yoke.

From this description it is clear that at the time of the dedication only one of the two towers was completed. When the other was finished has not been recorded. The bells were procured from Lima, Peru, and from Mexico. Generally, they bore the name of the manufacturer. Along the lower portion an inscription read, *Manuel Vargas me fecit,* which proves that they came from Lima. On the other side of the bell would be the name of the saint or titular, for instance *Purisima Concepcion.* Above these inscriptions a Cross was inscribed, generally about four inches in length. Other bells were cast by Manuel Ruelas,

[3] Fr. Ripoll's signature, however, does not appear.



"THE MAGNIFICENT STRUCTURE WAS BUILT BY STUPID SAVAGES HELD TO THEIR TASK BY THE MAGNETICISM AND DIPLOMACY OF A COUPLE OF BROWN-ROBED MISSIONARIES."
(Charles F. Lummis.)

in Mexico; but like those from Peru, they lacked the finish of the Spanish bells which contained more copper.

The Fathers describe also the façade of the church which today strikes tourists as exceptionally beautiful and imposing. In the center niche above the entrance is a statue of St. Barbara. It is carved from the best stone found here, and it is painted. The apex and both angles also are adorned with statues representing the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Next, the Fathers proceed to a description of the interior of the church. The record was translated by Fr. O'Keefe and it reads as follows: "The interior is neatly finished; the walls are plastered; the columns and the cornices are frescoed; the ceiling is lathed, hard finished, ornamented with the designs from Vitruvius, cut from cedar and painted. The floor of red cement, made from oil and lime, is hard and finely polished. The altars are neatly ornamented with crucifixes and statues in wood. Over the high altar, on a bracket in the wall, stands a statue in wood of Santa Barbara. On each side of Santa Barbara is a painting on the canvas wall-piece of St. Joachim and of St. Anne. Directly under these on brackets are the statues in wood of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Joseph. Small wooden statues of St. Dominic and of St. Francis may be seen one on each side of the high altar, on pillars."

It often strikes the non-Catholic visitor to find Catholic churches uniformly decorated with religious paintings and statues, and he wonders why some of them are tolerated since they would scarcely pass for works of art. He should bear in mind that such representations are not placed in churches chiefly for their artistic value, as is the case in museums. The sacred edifice is not a museum, though it could be devoutly wished that no stranger might conduct himself less respectfully than in a museum. The pictures and images are in the churches to teach lessons that could not be so impressively taught by word of mouth. "I have been sensible," writes Thomas Jefferson to Charles Wilson

Peale, "that the scriptural paintings in the Catholic churches produce deeper impressions on the people generally than they receive from reading the books themselves, with much more good to others."

There were no pews in the churches of California. The neophytes would squat on the concrete or brick floor, the men and boys on one side, the girls and women on the other side. Other people would bring along a mat or camp stool or chair. As one of the old-timers, Brigida Briones, relates: "We used to go to church attended by our (Indian) servants, who carried small mats for us to kneel upon, as there were no seats. A tasteful little rug was considered an indispensable part of our belongings, and every young lady embroidered her own. The church floors were cold, hard, and damp, and even the poorer classes managed to use mats of some kind, usually of tule woven by the Indians."

From the church the Fathers proceed to the sacristy and relate what precious additions were made to the store of sacred vestments. They note especially a silver chalice, the cup of which is gold-plated, surrounded with precious stones, and exquisitely worked. Among other things they mention are six cassocks for the altar boys and six surplices of Irish linen. What must surprise the intelligent reader is that here as elsewhere the missionaries contrived to have their church goods complete and in fine condition, despite the fact that they received no assistance whatever from the Pious Fund since the year 1811; that not a penny's worth of goods was sent to the Fathers for their annual allowance; and that they had to maintain not only their neophyte family, but also the military department. Catholics will consider it a matter of course that the priest should above everything else have the beauty of the house of God at heart; but one cannot help wondering how they ever managed to construct such a splendid edifice and supplied it with the best they could obtain. Private donations made by the pious Spaniards and occasionally by a skipper, who

happened to visit the town and the Mission, but especially the alms which the missionaries received in the way of Mass intentions, will solve the problem to some extent.

On the same day that the Fathers signed their report, December 31, 1820, Captain José de la Guerra wrote to the governor as follows: "In those five Missions (Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, San Fernando, Purisima Concepcion, and Santa Inés), the Doctrina Christiana is heard every day. There are also the common funds of the Missions, which the missionary Fathers manage without any intervention on the part of the government (sin ninguna intervencion del Gobierno) or of the respective comandantes. The branches of industry are the usual ones of weaving wool, which is then manufactured into blankets, coarse cloth, finer cloth, and sombreros. In all these Missions are Indian carpenters, smiths, and other mechanics, and they labor with tolerable perfection, but the rest with little. The Indian tribes of this jurisdiction differ very little in language, and generally little effort is made to instruct them in Castilian. There are in this military district 2,483 adult male and 2,136 adult female Indians. In addition there are 713 Indian boys and 669 Indian girls under nine years of age." [4]

For the subsequent years no building activities are reported, nor any additions to church goods, until 1824, when a chasuble and three albs were secured. In 1825, a crucifix was added; and in 1829, a chandelier of wood, but gilded, was installed. In 1830, the sacristy was provided with a wardrobe of fine wood and with decorations. The last improvement was reported in 1832, when some carpets, mirrors, and other adornments were obtained. In that year, the number of neophytes was only 343 men and 285 women, in all 628 Indians.

Under the provisional regulations issued by the Mexican Regency in 1821, California was entitled to a delegate in the Mexican Congress. Four electors chosen by representa-

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[4] *Cal. Arch., State Pap., Missions,* vol. v, pp. 616-617.

tives of the four presidial districts and one for Los Angeles were to elect this delegate. The representatives of the Santa Barbara district, who were chosen by the various towns and also by the Indians of the Missions, elected Francisco Ortega as their representative. The person chosen by the neophytes of Mission Santa Barbara on April 22, 1822, to cast vote for elector was the Indian Julian. This was the first and the last time Indians participated in a general election.[5]

In the same year, 1822, the Mission lands were reported as extending seven or eight leagues from east to west, and three or four leagues from north to south. The soil was described as good, but the pasturage was said to be insufficient. Irrigation was not necessary; wherefore, no such wonderful irrigation ditches were built as at Mission San Diego. Here, as in many other Missions, great damage was done by locusts. As a rule, sufficient grain was raised to supply the neophyte community; also meat, fish, and fruits were generally on hand.

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[5] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

CHAPTER XII.

The Bouchard Invasion.—Fr. Martinez's Heroic Patriotism.—Fr. Ripoll's Indian Military Company.—Trouble Brewing.—Insolent Soldiers.—Indian Outbreak at Santa Inés.—Santa Barbara Indians in Revolt.—Fr. Ripoll's Account.—Battle.—De la Guerra's Ruffians.—Neophytes Considerate toward Fr. Jayme.—They Retire to the Mountains.

GREAT excitement swept over the territory when, on October 6, 1818, the American brig *Clarion* brought the startling news to Santa Barbara that two rebel ships from Buenos Aires, Argentina, were at the Hawaiian Islands, and preparing an attack on California. Captain José de la Guerra immediately sent a courier with despatches to the governor at Monterey. Thereupon, Governor Solá, two days later, issued orders for the removal of all goods of value from the exposed presidios and Missions to places of safety in the interior. Women and children were to retire to these localities at a moment's notice. The livestock, except the necessary horses, were to be driven inland as soon as the hostile boats appeared. Hipolite Bouchard, a Frenchman, the leader of the South American insurgents, with two ships actually anchored in Monterey Bay on November 22, 1818. After an unsatisfactory exchange of notes with Governor Solá, Bouchard landed with 400 men, sacked the fort and the town, and then departed for the south. He next anchored off Gaviota, about thirty miles west of Santa Barbara, on December 2. His men first plundered the Rancho del Refugio of the Ortega family, burnt the buildings, killed some cattle, and then re-embarked. Without risking an attack on Santa Barbara, although they anchored in the channel some days, the Frenchman sailed directly to the roadstead of San Juan Capistrano, looted the Mission on December 14 and 15, and then disappeared from the California coast.

On occasion of the freebooter's visit two of the missionaries displayed an intensely patriotic and martial spirit. They were Fr. Luis Martínez of Mission San Luis Obispo and Fr. Antonio Ripoll of Mission Santa Barbara. The former, on receiving notice of the Frenchman's designs, wrote in November,[1] 1818, to Captain De la Guerra: "If I had only two cannon, I would have the ships; but there is nothing. So I have to content myself with doing what I can, and as long as I can. There are horses enough for flight, even as far as New Mexico, when I leave the Mission burnt down to the foundations. Live Fernando (king) while we are alive! Live the holy Church and our native country even if we all die."[2] Fr. Martínez was as good as his word. He even marched an armed band of his Indians from San Luis Obispo as far as San Juan Capistrano in quest of the freebooters.

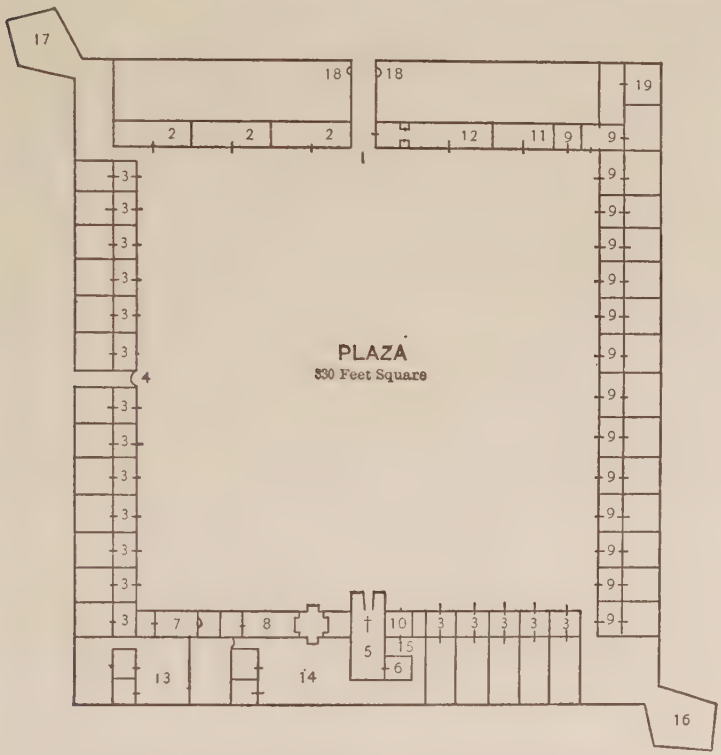
Fr. Ripoll proved himself hardly less belligerent than Fr. Martínez, as the following letter demonstrates, which he sent to Governor Solá more than a year after the excitement had passed away. "I just received your esteemed letter of the 25th instant," he wrote under date of April 29, 1820, "in which you ask for two carpenters to assist in the work (of reconstructing the fort destroyed by Bouchard). They are conceded with much pleasure, and they will help in everything else they are able to do, because it is considered very just and reasonable.

"In order to gratify Your Honor's desires for information on the forces of this Mission, I have to say, that as soon as I saw the circular of our Prelate, which Your Honor forwarded, and in which we were so earnestly warned to do everything possible in preparation for defense, and to dispose and arm the Indians, I at once went to work. Seeing the neophytes filled with enthusiasm and with lively eager-

[1] Fr. Martinez, besides being an inveterate joker, had the bad habit of not dating his missives and these he would scrawl on slips of paper about three inches wide and five or six inches long.

[2] *Missions and Missionaries*, iii, p. 59.

ness to defend their country and Religion, with the approbation of our comandante (De la Guerra) I organized a company of Indians, which was to be called Compañia de Urbanos Realistas de Santa Barbara. Said company consists of 100 men armed with good bows and arrows, and



GROUND PLAN OF THE SANTA BARBARA PRESIDIO. THE STRUCTURE AT THE BOTTOM MARKED WITH A CROSS WAS THE CHURCH.

50 bearing chopping knives and armed with good bows and arrows, because all these 150 are afoot, and then 30 horsemen armed with lances. Altogether, therefore, there are 180 picked men. To all I distributed the respective weapons, and also the trappings in order to animate them the more. They chose their sergeants and corporals from among them-

selves. The commanding officer, however, was to be an intelligent white man, selected by the comandante of this jurisdiction, so that everything proceed in an orderly manner. The arms were to be under lock and key until the days set apart for drilling, when the Indians would handle them, and again stack them in the room assigned.—Fr. Antonio Ripoll."[3]

It was well that the neophytes were not permitted to retain the military weapons; for, as we shall see presently, a time arrived when Santa Barbara, notably its worthless soldiers, might have fared badly at the hands of the justly indignant neophytes. As it was, the inhabitants suffered a good scare only.

The exorbitant and endless demands for all kinds of supplies, which the insolent military had made on the Mission Indians during the past thirteen years, at last aroused a deep feeling of resentment in the neophytes. Their labor had become harder, their working hours longer, and their food and clothing decidedly poorer—and all this in order that the idle and inconsiderate troopers, mostly ruffians in uniforms, might not suffer want or find it necessary to work. Only an occasion was needed to fan the spark of discontent into a rebellion that might have spread to all the missionary establishments in California. A general massacre would doubtless have occurred in various places and possibly the entire white population wiped out, had not the Indians been so timid by nature and so closely attached to the Fathers. This alone it was that prevented a wholesale slaughter. "At all events," Bancroft frankly admits, "there was no ill-feeling shown by the neophytes against the padres. The truth is," the same historian writes, "that the Indians did not fare so well in these hard times as formerly, when there was no market for Mission produce; the soldiers on account of their destitution, if not their new republican ideas, were careless of the Indians' rights; the neophytes noted the

[3] *Archb. Arch.* No. 1,085.

growing difficulties of the friars and their comparative inability to protect their subjects from the soldiers; and they finally were incited in connection with some local event, but as I think without very definite plans, to test the strength of their oppressors."[4]

The flogging which, by order of Corporal Cota, a neophyte of Purisima Mission, had to submit to at Mission Santa Inés, was the immediate cause of the outbreak. We shall present the facts as they are related by Fr. Antonio Ripoll in a report he made to Fr. Vicente de Sarría, then Superior of the Franciscans in California. Under date of May 5, 1824, he wrote as follows:

"The uprising occurred in the afternoon of February 21, 1824, at Santa Inés in the afternoon and at Purisima at about two or three o'clock. From the former Mission they despatched, by way of San Marcos, a messenger to (Indian) Alcalde Andrés (at this Mission), notifying him that at Santa Inés they had burnt the Mission and the soldiers' quarters and had killed the soldiers; that only the Father (Fr. Uria) and some one else remained alive shut up in their dwelling; that they had already despatched a messenger to Purisima, with the neophytes of which they were in accord; that they thought the result there would be the same; that he (Andrés) and his people should, therefore, be on their guard, because out of revenge the soldiers would kill them all while at holy Mass; and that he should send the news on to San Buenaventura.

"This message arrived here on Sunday, February 22, at daybreak. Immediately, Andrés came to inform me of all the messenger had told him, adding that he had gone to send the women to the foothills that they might be in safety; that he had despatched a vaquero to notify the Indians of San Buenaventura of what had happened; and that he would tell Alcalde Francisco of this Mission to come quickly with the families that were with him in the fields at Selpe be-

4 *California*, vol. ii, p. 528.

longing to this Mission. The Indian alcalde of San Buenaventura did not appreciate the message; for he gave notice to the corporal of the guard, who imprisoned the vaquero. Then, after holy Mass, there came from San Buenaventura the alcalde and Leyba, the mayordomo.

"I was still in bed when Andrés gave me the account of what had occurred. I rose quickly and endeavored to allay his fears. Thereupon he left, somewhat reassured; whereupon I went to the room of Fr. (Antonio) Jayme and told him the news. After I had returned to my room, Andrés came again and told me that the women had already gone away; that he and all the people stood in great dread, because they had been assured that the troops would come and kill them while at holy Mass; and that he who had brought the message had told him, in the name of the Indians of Santa Inés and Purisima that, if they failed to take up arms, they would come and make war on them. I tried my best to convince him of the contrary. Thereupon I summoned Jayme and Cristóbal, both of whom speak Castilian very well and are intelligent. To these three Indians I then rehearsed the reasons why there was no need for fear. I told them that I would celebrate holy Mass at the presidio; and they promised me that, if the troops did not come to do harm, they, too, would do nothing. With this I went my way and informed the captain (José de la Guerra). Shortly after notice came that the Indians were taking up arms. With the aid of my page (servant boy) we determined to summon the three Indians to the presidio, in order to settle the matter; but they replied that they were afraid to come; that it would be better if the captain and I came to the Mission, where the matter could be discussed. The captain was not willing to go up, however; wherefore I went alone on foot with no other guard than my page. I brought along an order from the captain to the effect that the guard, consisting of only three soldiers, should retire. In front of the *pozolera* (Indian community kitchen) I met the entire population already armed, as they had assembled

in front of my room in the corridor. Standing in their midst, I spoke to Andrés and asked him for what purpose this whole crowd had come. He replied by placing before me a certain Fulgéncio, a man of middle age, who lived in his own grass hut in a little field near the presidio, and then said to me: 'There you see. Behold this poor man, *how two soldiers N. N. have treated him and for no reason whatever. For this reason we are taking up arms to defend ourselves, and for nothing else.* If the soldiers do not come, we will do nothing.'

"I made various remarks, etc.; to which they listened with much attention and without showing me the least disrespect, neither in word nor in deed; but they answered we with considerable vigor. Finally, realizing that they entertained some distrust because they saw the guards in the guardhouse ready with their weapons, I told them to come with me to the guardhouse. They all followed me. To the soldiers I gave the captain's written orders, instructing them to retire to the presidio and to turn the guardhouse over to Indians; but, as in a multitude there are never wanting some daring fellows, despite the care of those who may be in charge that they attempt no harm, one (of the Indians) said that the soldiers should leave their muskets behind and depart without their weapons. With this they snatched the guns from their hands, and two, who resisted the delivery of the weapons, were wounded with a machete (chopping-knife), though not seriously, for next day one of them said that it was all right, and a few days later the other said the same. This was about the gravest crime that these neophytes committed, because the two murders of Feliz and of the American at San Emígdio were committed by pagans in consequence of the news from Santa Inés and Purisima. The Indians from here allowed days to pass before going thither (to San Emígdio). Furthermore, they told me that the Christians, who were in charge of the deceased, did not want him to be killed, saying: 'What fault did this poor fellow commit? He knows nothing about this. Let him go;'

but a pagan replied, 'No! This one caused the tumult at San Buenaventura, inasmuch as he punished the Indian N.' Thereupon they killed him with blows, and, as they say, only one Christian helped.

"We then went to the presidio. When the captain learned what had happened to the soldiers, he at once marched up to the Mission with a body of soldiers. No sooner did the Indians detect the troops coming up, than they made ready with the weapons they possessed, some with firearms and others with bows and arrows, and went forth to meet the soldiers. The battle began; and after three hours of firing, the troops retired to the presidio, why I do not know even now, while the Indians remained in possession of the Mission. In this skirmish no other casualties occurred than that four soldiers were slightly wounded with arrows. On the side of the Indians two were killed and three neophytes were wounded. One died the next day; the other two recovered, as I am informed."

The captain and his men can not be said to have exhibited marvelous bravery in the affray. The entire neophyte population, at the end of 1823, less than two months previously, consisted of 962 souls. Of these, 532 were registered as males and 430 as females. The latter, of course, took no part in the battle. Of the male Indians, 57 were children under nine years of age who, with their mothers, had already fled up Mission Creek. That leaves 418 males over nine years of age. Of these again, at least two-fifths were minors under eighteen years of age, who were either with their mothers or in the interior of the country herding the cattle, sheep, and horses. Add to these the aged and infirm, and we shall be able to determine approximately the number of Indian fighters—at most 200. Their weapons were bows and arrows, barring perhaps half a dozen who may have secured guns from the warehouse, which they could handle but awkwardly. How many men De la Guerra had is not recorded; but it is safe to say that one-half of the garrison, about forty-five or fifty men, were with him, all armed with

BATTLE BETWEEN THE PRESIDIO TROOPS AND THE MISSION INDIANS.

firearms and protected with leather shields that were impervious to the arrows of the Indians. When it is remembered that a thousand and more Indians at the Missions were held in check by a guard of only half a dozen soldiers, the bravery of the Barbareño soldiery can be inferred. For three hours those half-hundred well-equipped troops dared not approach the corridor of the Mission where poorly equipped neophytes bravely held their ground and in the end remained victors! On the next day and the day after, however, when the Indians had retreated to the sierra, the soldiers displayed extraordinary valor, as we shall see presently.

"Seeing themselves masters of the Mission," Fr. Ripoll continues, "but fearing another attack, they opened the store-room and also demanded from the mayordomo the keys to my room. Then they took away everything in the shape of clothing and money. Notwithstanding the fact that some had opened the wine room, where there were six casks and several barrels of brandy and wine, they left all these untouched. They locked the church and the sacristy and, without touching the least thing, delivered the keys to Father Antonio (Jayme). They brought to his room even the cruet which they had filled with wine in preparation for holy Mass. It is to be noted that they did not offer the least insult either to the Father or to the mayordomo, Antonio Cot, who was in charge of the keys, or to the white people who had come to attend holy Mass. Moreover, they entreated the Father to come with them, saying they would carry him and would take care of him, because they had plenty of clothing to cover him; but with his customary smile he told them that he was hungry and wanted to go to the presidio and get a bite to eat. Indeed, it was already three or four o'clock in the afternoon when I sent my servant for him with a gentle horse. Then those very rebels lifted him on the horse; whereupon my servant seized the bridle and, going ahead alone, reached the presidio.

"All the Indians now retired, leaving their furniture, grain, and clothing, etc., in their dwellings, which they

STAIRWAY TO THE CHOIR OF THE FRIARS, FORMERLY THE VESTRY, TO THE LEFT OF THE MAIN ALTAR.

locked. Going up the creek, which is dammed above, between rocky declivities, they stopped where they thought they would be secure, about three leagues, more or less."

CHAPTER XIII.

Fr. Ripoll's Account Continued.—De la Guerra's Rowdies.—They Rob or Wantonly Destroy Neophyte Property.—Mrs. Ord's Account.—The Military Inconsiderate.—Fr. Sarría's view.—Expedition Sent After the Indians.—Fr. Ripoll Refuses to Go along.—His Reasons.—Fr. Sarría Accompanies the Expedition, but Demands Full Pardon for the Neophytes.—The Expedition.—Fr. Sarría Persuades the Indians to Return.

"IN THE afternoon of the same day (Sunday, February 22), on learning that the Mission had been deserted, the comandante sent up about ten soldiers. They encountered no one but a half-witted Indian in one of the houses. Without being guilty of any crime, he was kept in prison for two or more months, as were also four or five aged women. The soldiers then went around the Indian houses, and near the threshing ground they met one Indian, who, mounted on a mule, was carrying away a quantity of wheat in a blanket. They seized him; and when he said that he was afraid and that they should not take him to the presidio, as they would kill him, they replied, 'Very well, then; we will kill you right here.' With this they shot him dead! A great act of bravery, indeed!

"On the following day (Monday), another squad of soldiers was ordered out. When they came near the corral, they met four old wandering Indians from Dos Pueblos (village), who neither knew the people, nor had been in the tumult, nor had done anything amiss. Because they had heard there was trouble at the Mission, they had come to see what it was about. The soldiers descried them, fell upon them, and killed all four. One of them (in his fright) climbed up an oak tree, saying in his language *Se-ul,* which meant that he had done nothing; but this was of no avail to him. A bullet brought him down dead. Poor, venerable old men! A few men without weapons, save one who had

UNIFORMED RUFFIANS OF THE SANTA BARBARA PRESIDIO COMMITTING A COLD-BLOODED MURDER.

a bow and a few arrows with which to kill squirrels, without having committed any other fault than to run four paces and ascend a tree or a branch thereof—they are the victims of. . . .[1] The Lord save us! Consider, your Reverence, what my feelings must have been on hearing the soldiers recounting these things to the comandante (De la Guerra), as though they were heroic deeds, and I knowing who the unfortunate ones were!

"Next day, Tuesday, another body of soldiers, in charge of Ensign Maytorena of happy memory (?) was sent out.[2] This man gave the troopers permission to sack all the dwellings of the Indians! This havoc it was that drove the nail into my already wretched heart. What destruction! Holy God! All the doors burst open—boxes, beds, clothing, grain—all robbed; and what they could not carry away, they scattered out on the road.[3] Not content with this, many articles from the warehouse and from my room, which the Indians, more considerate than the soldiers, had let alone, they robbed with so little sense of shame that the captain (De la Guerra), knowing this, placed himself at the corner of the presidio and took away some of the iron utensils.[4] Even that was a small matter. What was worse is that the poor (Indian) families of *Selpe,* who were with me at the presidio, saw their goods, clothing, etc., brought down! And what was the reparation? *Hush!* There is much to be said on this particular point; but let it pass."

Fr. Ripoll then relates that the Indians moved from their

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[1] Fr. Ripoll suppresses his indignation and refrains from pronouncing the appropriate word.

[2] "He was a drunken, good-natured fellow, with some skill as an accountant when sober." Bancroft, vol. iv., p. 729.

[3] Thus was treated the property of the neophytes who had lived and slaved that the undisciplined brutes might be kept in food, clothing, and idleness.

[4] Instead of punishing the ruffians severely, he let them go, as well as the murderers of the previous day. Queer discipline, and strange example for the unsophisticated Indians.

first hiding place up the Mission Creek to a ravine in the sierra. Though officials invited them to come down, they refused when they learned how wantonly the four innocent men had been murdered, and how their private property had been destroyed by the ruffians in uniform. Fr. Ripoll writes also that the Indian Alcalde Andrés, who had fled with the neophytes, was universally respected.[5]

From Mrs. Ord, a daughter of Captain De la Guerra, we learn that before the affray of the first day, while in town at the captain's house, "Fr. Ripoll wept like a woman, and said, 'My God! They shall not kill my sons (the Indians). I will go and see them before any troops get there.' The captain did not want to let him go for fear the Indians would kill him; but he went," and, we may add, not a hair of his head was touched. Had the soldiers stayed away, the affair would have ended quietly. Later in her account, Mrs. Ord says that "Fr. Ripoll loved his neophytes like an affectionate mother. His grief was so deep that he took sick, although not seriously."[6] It seems the Father lost his head entirely. He should have made vigorous protests, especially against the murders and robberies which the troops had committed; he should have insisted that they be punished, and should then have returned to the Mission and stayed there. Such was the deference of those Spanish friars to the civil and military authorities, however, that they confined themselves to lamenting to one another. Beginning with Fr. Junípero Serra, they all yielded too meekly to the arrogance and usurpations of the officials. Captain De la Guerra was an exception to the general rule. He was a truly pious man; but he did not know how to maintain military discipline among those under his command. His troops demonstrated this on the occasion of the uprising at the Mission, which would have turned out like a tempest in a teapot, had the rowdies from the presidio possessed any

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[5] Ripoll, *Levantamiento, Archb. Arch.*, No. 1,599.

[6] *Occurrencias*, p. 11.—Bancroft Collection.

regard for the feelings of the neophytes who with the Fathers were slaving for them.

Meanwhile, the fugitives of Mission Santa Barbara retreated with their families across the sierras into the Tulare country. To let them stay there would, of course, have brought disaster on the lazy troopers of the Santa Barbara garrison; for, if the neophytes were gone, who would furnish provisions and clothing for the valiant defenders of the country and their numerous relations? Therefore, either the soldiers would have to go to work, or the Indians would have to be brought back. The former alternative was not in keeping with the dignity of the valiant warriors. Besides, practically they regarded the neophytes as their slaves. Hence it was imperative that they be brought back by force. Lest any one imagine that we are stating the case too strongly, we shall quote from a letter which the Fr. Comisário Prefecto addressed to Governor Argüello on March 22, 1824, a month after the "fight." Though not yet informed of what had taken place at Santa Barbara, he tells the official how disgusted the missionaries are and then continues: "Some (friars) are begging me to give them the permit to renounce the administration of an office which they can not exercise if the neophytes are kept in dire slavery, or perchance in another state mentioned as worse than that; for slavery at least does not deny necessary nourishment to men who are *by nature and by law free,* such as are the Indians, who plainly see themselves deprived of that first recourse because they have to give it to others," (i. e., they have to go hungry in order that the soldiers may have enough to eat).[7]

Accordingly, it was resolved to go in pursuit of the hapless fugitives. Captain De la Guerra ordered Lieutenant Narciso Fabregat with eighty men to undertake the expe-

[7] *Archb. Arch.*, No. 1,598.—The Fathers loathed what had become very much the office of slave-master, and for that reason wanted to retire to their Mother College.

dition. Fr. Ripoll was invited to accompany the troops; but he declined on the ground that he did not wish the neophytes to see him in company with the soldiers. He assigns the reason in a letter to be quoted later. Fabregat and his men encountered the fugitives together with some pagans who had joined them, at Buena Vista Lake, in Kern County. Here a skirmish took place on April 9. On April 11, Sergeant Carlos Carrillo headed a detachment of troops in a fight with the Indians at or near San Emígdio. Four Indians were killed, while three of Carrillo's men were wounded. They succeeded in capturing thirteen horses from the fugitives. Notwithstanding the victory, Fabregat led his company back to Santa Barbara. Governor Argüello thanked the troops for their bravery, although he could not help expressing his surprise at their retreat. High winds and dust appear to have been the excuse for not following the Indians to their haunts.[8]

Governor Argüello now determined to have the fugitives brought back to the Mission by force. To that end he organized a new expedition and asked Fr. Comisário Prefecto Vicente de Sarría, to permit a Father to accompany the troops. Fr. Sarría, still ignorant of what had really happened at Santa Barbara, answered under date of April 30, 1824, that he would send Fr. Ripoll or Fr. Uria, who both were at Santa Barbara, the latter having been compelled by the rebels to retire from Santa Inés. Nearly three weeks later, Fr. Sarría received Fr. Ripoll's report on the uprising. Immediately, under date of May 18, 1824, from Mission San Luis Obispo, the Fr. Prefecto forwarded the report to the governor. At the same time he deprecated the use of force, which under the circumstances would only aggravate the bitter feelings justly entertained by the Indians on account of the barbarities they had suffered at the hands of De la Guerra's band of soldiers. For this reason

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8 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 204-205; Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 533-534.

Fr. Sarría, in conclusion, begged the governor to publish a full pardon to those neophytes who would quietly return to their Mission at Santa Barbara. This, the Father declared, would induce them to come back.

When Fr. Ripoll received the Fr. Prefecto's letter requesting him to accompany the soldiers, he replied on May 7, two days after sending his long report: "I presume your Reverence has by this time received my lengthy letter on the occurrences, together with the reasons and motives I set forth that prompted me not to go with the first expedition. Also my earnest petition that your Reverence excuse me from going with this second expedition was contained in that letter. This supplication I renew by means of this letter. I entreat you for the love of Jesus Christ and for the sake of His Most Holy Mother to designate another. Portilla and his troops have already arrived. As I hear they are going after the fugitives, my beloved children. I have no heart for any such thing. Besides, your Reverence will please bear in mind that it must appear repugnant to a Father to present himself before his children in the company of soldiers whom the Indians, in consequence of the brief encounter, regard as enemies. If they said to Leyba, the mayordomo of this Mission, because they had seen him with the expedition: 'So, then you, too, are coming against us, after we have served you so many years and maintained you at the Mission, etc.?' how could I present myself thus? In fine, I have already said to Fr. Uria that I had decided not to go, and I was so determined about it that I should prefer to die than to present myself with the military force before my children. The captain said that Fr. Blas (Ordaz of Mission Purisima) offered himself and that he could very well go. If in consequence some one is needed at Purisima, I shall gladly minister there in the meantime."[9]

It seems that Governor Argüello had anticipated Fr. Sarría's petition for pardon on behalf of the Indians; or

[9] *Archb. Arch.*, No. 1,600.

perhaps an earlier letter from the Fr. Prefecto moved him to issue a general pardon. At all events, under date of May 18, 1824, Fr. Sarría again wrote to the governor: "In consequence of the pardon granted to the rebel Indian neophytes of that Mission, I, last Sunday, May 16, at night, despatched from San Miguel two Tulareño Indian neophytes of that Mission with a letter of my own and with a copy of the pardon, to the said fugitives, inviting them to submit."[10] In another letter to the governor, dated May 28, before the troops set out, Fr. Sarría again urged that no force be employed, save the inductive, exhortative, and sweet force of persuasion.[11]

In spite of all this, the expedition, consisting of sixty-three soldiers under the command of Captain Pablo de la Portilla, set out on June 2 with one field-piece from Santa Barbara. At the same time, Lieutenant Antonio del Valle with fifty men and one cannon of the Monterey garrison left Mission San Miguel and crossed the sierra to the east. As Fr. Ripoll did not wish to accompany the troops, Fr. Prefecto Sarría himself undertook the task of persuading the Indians to yield. Later, when Fr. Ripoll learned that a pardon had been offered the fugitives, he changed his mind and accompanied the troops from Santa Barbara. This latter expedition proceeded by way of San Buenaventura up the Santa Clara River to the Camúlos Rancho, which belonged to Mission San Fernando. On Pentecost Sunday, June 6, the expedition crossed the summit of the sierra, and came to a spot which for the feast of that day they named Espiritu Santo. On June 8, the division under Del Valle joined that of Portilla at the Rancho de San Emígdio, far out in the plain of the Tulares. In this region the fugitives had their camps. When the Spaniards arrived there and announced the purpose of their coming, the Indians appeared sorry for what had happened, but at the same time professed much

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10 Ibidem, No. 1,602.

11 Ibidem, No. 1,603.

fear of punishment if they gave up their arms. "Only the high esteem in which the California inhabitants in general held the Rev. Fr. Vicente de Sarría," says Antonio M. Osio, "and likewise the veneration of the Indians for him on account of his many virtues, dispelled their fear when he reassured them. The commander also assured the Indians that all should be forgotten."[12] What more than anything else fully quieted the neophytes, was doubtless the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi which occurred on June 17, the day after the return march was begun. For that purpose they erected an enramada where holy Mass was celebrated, most likely by Fr. Sarría. Here soldiers and Indians felt themselves on common ground and members of one religious family.[13]

By June 21, all had reached Santa Barbara and thus the revolt of 1824 came to a happy end. Fr. Sarría himself accompanied the Indians back and, as we learn from the Register, on June 26 he gladly officiated at the Baptism of Maria Paula Dolores, an Indian child which had been born at the place called Mitoch, in the Tulare country, where the fugitives had taken refuge. Captain Pablo de la Portilla, commander of the expedition, stood sponsor.

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[12] *Historia, Mss.*, cap. iv, p. 85. Bancroft Collection.

[13] Bancroft, ii, p. 536.

CHAPTER XIV.

Ruffian Soldiers Not Punished.—Indian Population Decreasing.—Chief Cause.—The Mission Compared with Other Establishments.—Missionary Changes.—Oath of Allegiance to Mexico Refused.—Spaniards to Be Banished.—Flight of Fathers Altimira and Ripoll.—Mariano Vallejo As Usual Has a Notion.—Fr. Juan Moreno Succeeds.—Lieutenant Pacheco's Report.—José de la Guerra Elected to Mexican Congress.—Returns in Haste.—The Garrison.—Schools Ordered.—A Bachelor's Plea.—Governor Borica's Idea of a Good School.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill treatment they had received at the hands of the ruffians from the presidio, all the neophytes appear to have reoccupied their cottages in the Mission village. Nowhere is it mentioned, however, that any reparation was made for the destruction of the Indian property by the uniformed thieves.

In his Annual Report of December 31, 1824, Fr. Ripoll notes a decrease of forty-three souls in the neophyte population, as compared to the year preceding the revolt. There were now at the Mission 508 males and 415 females, or altogether, 923 Indians, whereas at the end of 1823 the Mission family numbered 532 males and 430 females, or in all, 962 neophytes. The difference was not material, since during the year 1822 the population had decreased by forty-eight souls. The truth is that at all the missionary establishments in California there was a falling-off in the neophyte population, except at the Missions of San José, San Luis Rey, San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano, all of which had been founded since 1797.

Enemies of the missionaries and of their system attribute the decrease of the natives to the confined life they had to lead at the Missions. That would scarcely account for the extraordinary mortality after thirty and forty years of domestication and acclimatization. Besides, it is known that

among the savages still living in the sierras the mortality was even greater, and that the pagan Indians disappeared far more rapidly than the Christian Indians.

The real cause for the disproportionate mortality among the Indians of both Lower and Upper California must be sought elsewhere. The unfortunate natives were constitutionally debilitated by venereal diseases communicated to them by immoral soldiers and immigrants, most of whom were recruited from the scum of society in Mexico. Once infected with this *mal gálico* (or syphilis), as it was termed, the Indian was incurable. Such was the statement which Fr. Abella made to Governor Solá on January 29, 1817. To the same governor the venerable Fr. Prefecto Vicente de Sarría, as early as June 28, 1815, also declared that the race was dying from the *gálico*.[1]

In the early years of a Mission, the difference between the baptized and the deceased of a given year was not noticeable on account of the great number of adult Indian converts who constantly swelled the ranks of the neophytes. After 1824, however, very few, if any, pagans remained on the coast to be converted. Those living in the sierras and in the Tulare Plain would join the Missions of San Gabriel, Santa Inés, San Juan Bautista, or San José.

The Mission of Santa Barbara reached its highest number of converts living at the Mission in 1803 when it had 1,792 neophytes, thus holding in this regard the fourth place among the twenty-one Missions. It was surpassed in 1824 by San Diego with 1,829 converts; in 1831 by San José with 1,886 converts; and in 1826 by San Luis Rey with 2,869 converts. In 1804 Mission Santa Inés was founded. This naturally for Santa Barbara cut off the supply of converts from the sierras. Hence it was that the Santa

[1] "Debe llevar á la humanidad mucha consideracion de gálicos y podridos de este mal, con que se va acabando esta pobre gente, especialmente el mujerio. Parece que en algunas misiones lo mismo es casarse que tomar despacho para el cementerio."—See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 30, 79.

Barbara neophyte population decreased slowly but steadily, so that at the end of 1824 the Mission could claim only 923 neophytes, little more than half its highest number twenty-one years before.

Some changes among the missionaries must be noted in order to avoid confusion. Fr. Antonio Jayme, mentioned in connection with the uprising on February 22, 1824, had arrived at Santa Barbara from Mission Soledad about the beginning of December, 1821. He had worn himself out at Soledad and was now an invalid, crippled with rheumatism. This accounts for the fact that his name does not appear in the Santa Barbara Registers till August 25, 1823, when he officiated at a burial, and that thereafter it occurs so seldom.

Fr. Francisco Suñer was also beginning to ail. For this reason he was transferred to Mission San Buenaventura. At Santa Barbara he officiated for the last time at a burial on December 19, 1823, and thus escaped the turmoil of the revolt by two months.

More trouble was brewing for the already distracted missionaries. On October 4, 1824, the Mexican Congress—so-called, for it did not represent the people of Mexico by any means—adopted a new constitution, which in some respects was framed after the Constitution of the United States. At the same time it was decreed that, all who refused to take the oath of allegiance to this constitution, should be banished. The Franciscans in California had taken the oath of Independence shortly before; but, when Governor Echeandia, on June 3, 1826, demanded that they swear unconditional allegiance to the new constitution, all but two of the missionaries declined. All, and among these was Fr. Ripoll, were willing to swear obedience to the government in everything that did not militate against their conscience, which should have been sufficient guarantee for their fidelity. Fr. Durán objected on the ground that the constitution was not as it ought to be the expression of the whole people. In fact, it

had been foisted upon the Mexican nation by a handful of politicians who had somehow swung themselves into power. For the time being, the Mexican government dared not expel the Fathers, because there were no substitutes to take their places in California. On May 10, 1827, however, the Mexican Congress decreed that no person of Spanish birth should hold any public, civil, or military office. This nativistic decree did more harm in California than any other thus far promulgated, inasmuch as it brought into power the young upstarts who eventually ruined the Missions. At Santa Barbara, Captain De la Guerra, who was a Spaniard by birth, had to surrender his office of military commander.

Finally, on December 20, 1827, the Mexican politicians, who certainly had not at heart the welfare of the people, decreed that all Spaniards under sixty years of age should leave the country within six months, except those who had married Mexican wives and had taken the oath of allegiance, as also the disabled and a few other classes. Fathers Ripoll and Altimira, the latter of Mission San Buenaventura, were consequently subject to expulsion. Like all the missionaries, these two Fathers had labored hard to advance the natives spiritually and materially, and had thereby contributed much toward the welfare of the country itself. That in return they should now be expelled, because their cradles had stood outside the narrow limits of Mexican rule, struck them as the height of ingratitude. Of course, they realized that it was not the country or the people of the country who were inimical to the Spanish religious, but only a handful of demagogues. Nevertheless, these few unscrupulous and selfish politicians now dominated Mexico and California, and there was no prospect that they would be ousted and honest people reinstated in their rights. Fathers Ripoll and Altimira therefore resolved not to wait till the foolish and heartless decree should be executed. On January 23, 1828, they boarded the American brig *Harbinger,* which happened to lie at anchor in the Santa Barbara harbor, and sailed away before the enraged but outwitted Governor Echeandia

could prevent the flight, although he was at Santa Barbara at the time.

In keeping with their own mercenary character, the paisano chiefs, Vallejo, Alvarado, and others, accused the two missionaries of having taken along a large amount of Mission wealth. If true, the Fathers would have had to get

THE MISSIONS ALONG THE SANTA BARBARA CHANNEL WITH SAN LUIS OBISPO TO THE NORTH. THE DOTS POINT OUT THE MISSION SITES.

it through Captain José de la Guerra, who was the official síndico or depositary of the Franciscans in California. Mrs. Maria Ord, the daughter of De la Guerra, declares, however, in her *Occurrencias* (pp. 22-23) that they took along no money whatever, but only provisions for the voyage. Most probably, De la Guerra paid the expenses of the friars' voyage, otherwise the captain would scarcely have

taken them on board. More details on this subject will be found in the volume on Mission San Buenaventura, and in the third volume of *The Missions and Missionaries of California.*

Mission Santa Barbara was not left orphaned, however, otherwise Fr. Ripoll would not have taken such a step. Fr. Juan Moreno, who had arrived at San Diego in September, 1827, together with Fathers José and Antonio Jimeno, was assigned to take his place. He officiated for the first time at Santa Barbara on January 26, 1828, three days after Fr. Ripoll's unceremonious departure, when he administered the Sacrament of Baptism. Fr. Moreno served at this Mission till February, 1829, when Fr. Antonio Jimeno commenced his long administration. The gentle sufferer and invalid Fr. Antonio Jayme was still at the Mission, but passed to a better life on December 2, 1829. His mortal remains were deposited in the vault beneath the sanctuary of the Mission church. A sketch of his life will be found in a later chapter.

In 1828, in consequence of the law against Spaniards, Captain José de la Guerra had to deliver the office of commander of the presidio to Lieutenant Romualdo Pacheco, who, on December 31, 1828, reported that the military jurisdiction of Santa Barbara comprised the presidio and the following Missions with their ranchos:

Presidio of Santa Barbara with the Rancho del Refúgio, ten leagues to the northwest; Rancho de San Julian, fifteen leagues to the northwest; and Rancho El Conejo, seventeen leagues to the east.

Mission Santa Inés, thirteen leagues to the northwest with the Rancho de Calaguaza, two leagues to the north.

Mission Purisima Concepcion.

Mission Santa Barbara, half a league to the northwest, with the Rancho de San Marcos, seven leagues to the northwest, and Ranchos de Dos Pueblos, six leagues to the west.

Mission San Buenaventura, ten leagues to the east, with the Rancho de Santa Paula, seven leagues to the southeast.

Mission San Fernando, thirty-two leagues southeast, with the Rancho de Cahuenga, six leagues southeast, and the Rancho de San Francisco, five leagues southeast.

"The few Indians not attached to the Missions maintain themselves," he writes further, "by serving some private parties either in the ranchos or in the white settlements. The few pagans gathered at this presidio are found in the service of private parties."[2]

On February 18, 1827, the electors met at San Diego by order of Governor Echeandia and unanimously elected José de la Guerra to represent California in the Mexican Congress for the term of 1827-1828. He sailed for Mexico in January, 1828, but he was not permitted to take his seat in Congress because his cradle had stood in Spain. He therefore hastened back to California in order to escape more serious trouble. At Santa Barbara, however, he was, nominally at least, according to Bancroft, suspended from the office of presidio commander for being a Spaniard.

In 1830, the garrison consisted of fifty men and twenty-two invalids. About twenty of the Mazatlan company, which had come up to California in 1819, probably continued at the presidio, although most of them received no pay or rations, and earned their living as best they could. There are mentioned also seven or eight artillerymen and twelve or thirteen infantrymen. Thus, says Bancroft, as we deduct twenty men for guard duty at the Missions and half the invalids, the total force might be considered as eighty men. The population of the presidio town of Santa Barbara in 1830, was about 500, exclusive of Indians. About 130 additional white people lived under the jurisdiction of Santa Barbara. There were at least ten resident foreigners in the

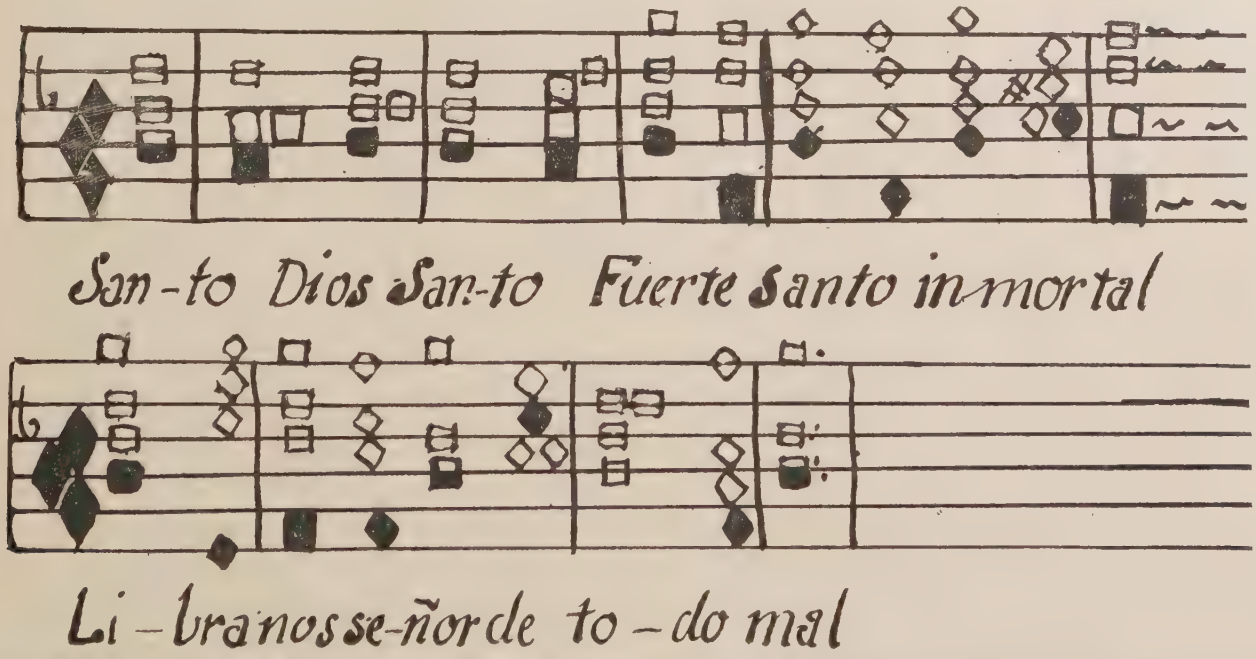
[2] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions*, vol. v, p. 235. Bancroft writes that in 1828 four ranchos are mentioned as belonging to the Mission. Three of these were used for agriculture and one for livestock. They were San José, four leagues distant; Cañada de las Armas, four leagues distant; Dos Pueblos, six leagues distant, and San Marcos, eight leagues distant.—*California*, vol. ii, p. 579.

district. Bancroft is wrong, however, when he declares that the neophyte population of the district was 4400. At the end of December, 1830, the neophytes in the five Missions, including San Fernando, numbered 3,085, of whom 711 belonged to Santa Barbara Mission.

As a port, says Bancroft, Santa Barbara was visited frequently by foreign traders, though at certain times it was legally closed and could be entered only with a special license from the governor.

On July 23, 1793, King Carlos IV commanded that elementary schools for reading, writing, and speaking the Spanish language should be established. The order reached California in the following year. The missionaries, of course, expressed their willingness to comply with the royal decree, but found it impossible for lack of teachers. Boys who served in the sanctuary, and youths with good voices, who might sing in the choir, were trained by the Fathers themselves to read and sing, but no general schools could be established until regular teachers could be secured. However, the neophytes quite generally learned to speak the Castilian language, so the intention of the king was accomplished to that extent at least. The missionaries, moreover, wanted the white population to take the lead and set an example, but the white population in the early days was not eager to acquire the simple arts of reading and writing. Governor Borica endeavored to arouse the people to a sense of their duty on this subject, and succeeded for a time and to some extent. In obedience to the governor's orders, Comandante Goycoechea made strong efforts to induce the soldiers and colonists to organize a school at Santa Barbara. After nine months, November 11, 1795, he reported to Borica that nearly all, the bachelors included, had agreed to contribute funds requisite for maintaining a school.[3] His reference to the bachelors was probably provoked by the stand one of them took with regard to schools. This unen-

[3] *Cal. Arch. Prov. St. Pap.*, xiv, pp. 86, 198.



FACSIMILE OF CHURCH MUSIC SUNG IN THE MISSIONS. THE TOP NOTE WAS COLORED YELLOW; THE ONE BENEATH IT WAS RED; THE NEXT WAS WHITE; AND THE FOURTH WAS BLACK. THE SINGER WAS TAUGHT TO LOOK TO HIS COLORED NOTE ONLY, AND THUS HARMONY RESULTED.

cumbered citizen objected that it was unfair to tax him for the education of other people's children. The official, on the other hand, sternly replied: "Señor! Good schools are a benefit for the whole community. You are a member of the community. Consequently you share in these benefits. Therefore you will contribute to the maintenance of the school or take the consequences."

As it was not possible to procure a professional teacher, José Manuel Toca, a sailor from one of the transports, conducted the school as well as he knew how. On February 25, 1796, he reported an attendance of thirty-two children. The people were required to pay him $125 a year. To this sum each soldier had to contribute one dollar. In 1797, Toca was ordered back to his ship, whereupon another shiphand, José Medina, took his place.

With regard to what constitutes a good school for children, Governor Borica had sound ideas, which agreed with those of the later Governor Micheltorena, nay, even with those of the first President of the United States. According to his regulation, Christian doctrine was to receive the first attention.[4] After that came reading and writing. He was convinced, like Washington, that a knowledge of reading and writing, instead of being a cure-all for human ills, would be more likely very dangerous to both the individual and the community without Religion and morality. At all events, it is now but too evident that the most and the worst crimes are not committed by illiterates, but by those highly educated in secular branches.

According to Bancroft,[5] one Diego Fernández conducted a school at the presidio of Santa Barbara in the last years of the second decade of the nineteenth century, and received fifteen dollars per month as salary. "In 1828," he adds, "Governor Echeandia declared this a useless expense, since not a single scholar attended the school with all the alcalde's efforts."

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[4] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 474-475.

[5] *California*, vol. ii, p. 574.

CHAPTER XV.

Indolent Soldiers Could Well Help Themselves.—Their Bad Example.—Fr. Suñer's Grave Charges.—Saloons and Dives Abound.—Fr. Ibárra Fearlessly Assails the Soldiery.—Duhaut-Cilly's Most Interesting Description of Town and Mission.—Fr. Ripoll.—Pattie's Alleged Visit.

THE military company of Santa Barbara had acquired a rancho at San Julian, which, according to Bancroft[1] was in a prosperous condition down to the year 1826, at least. It not only kept the troops supplied with meat and paid its expenses, but furnished $350 to purchase an organ for the chapel, and left a cash balance of $940, besides 2,221 head of cattle. This shows that, if the military troops had possessed the will, they might have maintained themselves, here and elsewhere, without clinging like leaches to the Mission community and thus ruining the Missions themselves.

Besides sucking the life-blood out of the unfortunate Missions, the soldiers here and at the other presidios and towns, in other ways proved anything rather than a benefit to the poor neophytes. Fr. Francisco Suñer of Santa Barbara Mission, for instance, under date of January 26, 1820, wrote to Governor Solá: "Every day we see men drunk, as well from among those who call themselves people of intelligence, as also from among the Indians to whom intelligence was denied, because in this presidial town and the immediate vicinity there are six or seven taverns where brandy is sold, or to speak more accurately, where every one who has a mind to, sells it in spite of the orders which Your Honor has issued. When I complained to the temporary commander, in the absence of Moraga who was on an expedition, concerning the case of a drunken Indian, he replied that he found things as they were and that he would leave

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1 *California*, vol. ii, p. 574.

them so. 'Of what shall those people, who have brandy shops, live?' the temporary commander exclaimed! To this unseasonable retort I did not want to reply, but in turn I exclaimed, 'What! are we all to perish that those brandy sellers may live! Can we not live without having the presidio full of drunkards? Is it necessary, in order that those brandy dealers may have temporal life, that the others should die a spiritual death? That they should ruin and damn themselves? If there were only one tavern where all who are determined to drink would have to go, it could be better known to whom to give liquor and to whom to deny it, according to the character of the individual; but with a den here and a den there, no one wants to take the blame for a case of intoxication, for every one will claim that he did not cause the intoxication. From many little drinks taken at so many visits to those many houses of hell, there is made of the wise man a fool, of a human being a brute, and of a Christian a scandal."[2]

Fr. Francisco de Ibárra of Mission San Fernando, which was under the jurisdiction of the Santa Barbara presidio, went even further. "That we should serve and respect him who is of benefit," he wrote to Sergeant Carlos Carrillo of Santa Barbara, on April 11, 1825, "is very proper and just; but that we should feed him who not only does not protect but utterly destroys us, to put up with this, a stout heart is needed. Indeed, what benefit does this Mission (San Fernando) receive or has it received from the Santa Barbara presidio? None; but what damage has it suffered? Incalculable damage. Indeed, were it not for the presidio, I could figure on results from my labors. I should not mind the Tulares or the sierras, the refuge of wicked men. A second sierra or bawdry that annoys us most is the presidio. If a base man behaves in a base manner, one need not be surprised; but that men, who consider themselves honorable, should act thus, this is what stuns." Bancroft informs us

[2] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 132-133.

that this bitter lament brought a sharp reply from De la Guerra, who advised the padre to modify his tone or he might suffer for it. It would have been more becoming, and more in the line of duty, if the captain had compelled his uniformed ruffians to modify their conduct. No wonder they dared to ill-treat the Indians. For details on the inglorious situation at the presidio of Santa Barbara we refer the reader to Bancroft's *California,* volume i, page 575.

In March, 1827, the French navigator, A. Duhaut-Cilly, landed at Santa Barbara for the first time. His description of the presidio and of the Mission is so interesting, and it contains so much new information, that we offer no apology for reproducing it entire. The translation from the Italian version was kindly made by the Franciscan Fathers Antonio Durantini and Silvano Matulich.

"On the night of the 29th of March, 1827," Duhaut-Cilly writes in his *Viaggio Intorno Al Globo,* volume i, pages 270-280, "we cast anchor in the Bay of Santa Barbara, enveloped in fog, which made it impossible for us to examine well the country lying close to our place of anchorage; but on the morning of the 30th we had a full view of the site where we lay. To the east, as far as the eye could see, the land presented the same aspect; only the perpendicular cliff was interrupted to form the slightly circular Bay of Santa Barbara, and the ridges of the mountains which were somewhat low, were cut in two by a deep ravine. The bay is open half-way toward the south, and has no protection except toward the north running from east to westward. Opposite, at a distance of four leagues, rises the high and considerably large Island of Santa Cruz, and to the left of it toward the southeast, is a cluster of four small islands called by the Indians 'Enecapah.'

"I landed with Sig. R. . . . . and we went to visit the commander, Don Joseph Noriega. He was at the time in the presidio awaiting the completion of a house, which he was having fenced in. I myself brought the beams for this house; they had been freighted at Monterey. We found

Don Joseph to be a cultured and respectable man, who was surrounded by a numerous and elegant family. They all gave us a courteous and hearty welcome. His considerable wealth and his excellent character were the reason why he exercised so great authority in the place; and, though a Spaniard, they had recently elected him as deputy to the Congress of Mexico.

"The presidio of Santa Barbara, like that of Monterey, is a quadrangle enclosed and surrounded by houses and sheds of one story. At the northwest rises a building a little more conspicuous than the rest, and it has a belvedere. It is the residence of the commander. At the opposite corner, which guards the descent to the shore, it is seen that the intention of the engineers in California was to construct a fortification; but to think they had succeeded would be a little too optimistic. The presidio is located in a plain girded by two small canyons through which two creeks flow. Around the fortress, regardless of order, are grouped about sixty or eighty houses inhabited by Europeans, and by Indians who act as servants to the Europeans. There is a little garden, enclosed by a palisade, attached to each of these houses.

"From here we went to the Mission, situated at the higher end of the plain, about one-half league from the presidio. The way leading to it has a gentle grade and crosses a beautiful pasture where the work-horses graze, together with the cows which daily furnish the milk for the presidio. As we proceeded, the Mission buildings looked more beautiful. From the bay you might have mistaken it for a mediæval castle with its high windows, its tower and its watch-tower; but on approaching it, the edifice assumes larger proportions, and, retaining its beauty, it takes on little by little a religious appearance. The turret becomes a belfry; the bell no longer announces the arrival of cavalry, but the Office and the Angelus. The first illusion disappears and behold, the castle is a convent!

"In the front of the building, in the middle of a large

plaza, running water gushes from a full fountain. In art it is imperfect, but still it caused so much the more surprise, the less we expected to find in this land, so distant from the comforts of Europe, an ornament or species of luxury which among ourselves is reserved only for the palaces of the more wealthy. The clear, sparkling water of this fountain, first rises more than eight feet above the ground and then falls

THE LAVATORY. WATER FLOWED FROM THE FOUNTAIN ABOVE THROUGH AN IRON PIPE AND OUT OF THE MOUTH OF THE STONE BEAR.

in wide sprays over a series of stone basins that form an octangular pyramid. It then falls into the basin and when this is full, the water spouts forth through the mouth of a bear carved from stone, and finally it flows into a neat lavatory where the Indian girls and the young Californians were standing and washing. The girls looked at us stealthily through the beautiful tresses of their chestnut hair. I believe, rather, I am sure, that the little rogues took us in quickly with their eyes, and the two strangers surely did the same.

"It is only the fair sex of every land that has the gift of knowing how to judge what sort of man you are, with a

furtive glance and in the twinkling of an eye. Especially the clever women discover whether there is in him any deceit or ridiculous manner. I saw one of the girls laughing, as it were, aside. I thought within myself, perhaps the mischievous little thing is laughing at me; but considering the rather grotesque appearance of my companion, his teeth worn away by the immoderate use of tobacco, his head like that of an ape stuck on a slender body of four feet eight inches, in fact everything belonging to that curious make-up, persuaded me that the Californian was looking at him and not at me.

"We mounted a stair-way of a few steps that led into a long atrium or cloister supported by 15 square pillars which were formed into 14 arches. From the distance these arches gave the Mission a noble appearance, which on our first arrival surprised me. An old, feeble Padre was sitting there, a man whom age and infirmity had rendered so indifferent to all that happened around him, that he hardly noticed that we were strangers when we greeted him and inquired about his health. I saw that you had to put your hand heavily upon him to rouse him. I bent toward him and in a voice that overcame his deafness I said: 'I'm a Frenchman from Paris; I can give you news from Spain.'

"This good old man (Fr. Antonio Jayme) was not the superior of the Mission, nor had he any duties. He waited only that God, putting an end to his feeble life, might call him to Himself. The management of the Mission was committed to Fr. Antonio Ripoll. He was at the time attending to affairs elsewhere, so we took advantage of his absence to visit his garden which we found to be large, well cultivated and planted with trees. Very fine olive trees shaded the straight paths, and you could see fruits of the temperate and torrid zones at one and the same time. The Adam's figs spread their broad leaves between the apples and pears, and the gold of the oranges mingled with the red of the cherries.

"With more discretion and discernment Fr. Antonio Ripoll,

a man of nice figure and of elegant spirit, questioned me on the same things about which his elderly companion had inquired; and when he had satisfied his curiosity and his eager desire, he conducted me to visit the Mission buildings and the church.

"The front of the church is ornamented with six half-columns that support a triangular facade furnished with a few statues of saints. The interior of the church consists only of a nave with a flat ceiling and with no side entrances. The form of the building would cause no special wonder if it had been constructed by Europeans; but considering that it is the work of poor Indians under the direction of an ecclesiastic; that it is a building raised in a country which, if it does abound in all the necessary materials, still offers them only in the crude natural shape to the hand that wishes to use them; surely, then, one admires very much the great patience of the religious, his ability and the care he exercises in conducting the work.

"Suppose we should wish to build a similar edifice. Ten architects would present themselves with plans and estimates. You choose the one you wish; terms are then made and contractors called; the materials are brought to the spot selected; they need only see whether they are of good quality; these are then put into shape by the hands of laborers, the best of whom compete in doing their work.

"Here it is altogether different. All is rough; the men themselves are not skilled; and it is the first thought of the constructor to teach his workmen. It was necessary to make bricks and tiles from the plain earth; to fell at a distance the large trees and to bring them along the paths especially made over the mountains and precipices; they had to gather at great expense the shells on the ocean shore for making lime, in a word, the most preliminary works were necessary for the very roughest beginnings of the edifice, and this certainly must have increased the difficulties. Nay more, the boldness of the conception and the constancy in its execution are striking. No motive, except

his unbounded zeal for the spread of Religion, could have sustained Padre Ripoll in overcoming so many and so great obstacles. Yet it took him no longer to finish the work than it would have taken in Spain itself. This church was commenced in 1815 and it was completed in 1820.

"The nave, the altar, and the sacristy are hung with paintings, the best of which come from Mexico, the rest of them are the work of Indian hands. The pillars, the trimmings, the cornice-work and the plinths have a rather tasteful marble finish, and are decorated with arabesques by a hand not altogether unskilled. What gives more value to the embodiment of such labors, and what makes one judge of the whole with more indulgence, is its extreme cleanliness, a cleanliness which is not observable in our own church of third or even of second class.

"The cares and thoughts of Padre Ripoll were not only concerned with the building of the church. Whilst attending to this, he was also anxious to feed and clothe his Indians well. We went to see his woolen manufactory. There are large sheds made for that purpose where 200 Indians of both sexes are occupied at various jobs: women and children comb and spin the wool, the men weave quilts, blankets, and above all a heavy serge which has the appearance of unfinished cloth. The building of various work-shops and machines was also directed by the Padre and executed by his Indians. Under his instruction one became a carpenter, another a mason, another a blacksmith, in short so many kinds of tradesmen were trained as were necessary for so great a work.

"A project that engaged his entire thought was a water-mill which he was erecting at the foot of a hill at the right of the Mission. The water, conducted for about two leagues through a canal excavated as the mountains permitted, was to fall from an altitude of some 20 feet upon the shafts of the wheels. It did not fall perpendicularly, but at an angle of about 35°, because the wheel was not perpendicular but horizontal. It was in the shape of a complete

ABOVE: INDIAN LAVATORY. CHURCH AND RUINED RESERVOIR. MILL, RESERVOIR.
BELOW: DAM ACROSS MISSION CREEK. FILTER. OUTLET TO MILL RESERVOIR.

circle, on the rim of which were disposed like beams certain forms like large spoons a little concave, and these the water had to push forward successively and transmit the motion through them.

"At first sight I wondered why the Padre, a man of good judgment, had preferred the inclined fall, whereas he could have had a more powerful momentum by digging away the hill. Without being familiar with hydraulics, I easily noticed that it would have less motive power in proportion as the incline receded from the ventricle. Still, I first thought of it more attentively; and, before giving my opinion, I wished to know his. I seemed, however, to notice, that whatever motive power the machine lost at first, so much the more did it gain on the other hand by avoiding the shifting movement of the power-wheel and of the grinder, because the revolving grinder was attached to the same axle-tree with the wheel.

"Another objection can be made to the velocity of the rotations. In his system, the speed of the wheel and of the mill is equal, whilst according to the method common amongst us, the velocity of the mill increases in proportion to the radius of the wheel to the radius of the bobbin of the axle-tree. As to the rest, since the workmen of Padre Antonio were but little skilled in mechanics, he avoided many imperfections by the simplicity of his contrivance, nor did I at all doubt that his idea would work well. Still, I called his attention to the fact, that the quality of the rock which he used for his grinding-stones of one piece, was not advisable, because both stones, being of the same quality and of the same hardness, would become smooth too soon. After supper the Padre went to sleep, and we returned on board."

"It was only on a second voyage to Santa Barbara that I learned that half-way from the presidio, at Point Conception, between the Ranch of Los Ortegas and that of Los dos Pueblos, there is a large bitumen cave which is always

boiling, and when it is full, overflows to the sea which is not far from it."

Another visitor, James O. Pattie,[3] a Kentucky trapper, claimed that, on his journey through the Missions, in 1829, he vaccinated at Santa Barbara 2,600 persons, mostly Indians. In 1829, however, the population of the presidio and town was less than 700 souls, and the Indians at the Mission numbered less than 800 souls. Furthermore, at none of the Missions is anything recorded about Pattie's visit and alleged vaccinations.

Moreover, Reuben G. Thwaites, the editor of Pattie's *Personal Narrative,* himself a writer of some note, also errs regarding Santa Barbara Mission. In a note to page 279 of the *Narrative,* he writes: "After secularization (1834), the Mission was neglected for twenty years; but the Franciscans again took possession of the property, and established a religious community therein." Thwaites could have known that the Mission of Santa Barbara was never abandoned by the Franciscans.

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[3] *Personal Narrative,* pp. 279-289.

CHAPTER XVI.

Solís's Revolt.—Remarkable Bravery of the Soldiers of the Garrison.—A Battle in Which No One Was Hurt.—Californians Against Californians.—Echeandia Searches for a Scape-goat.—Selects Fr. Martínez.—Robinson's Descriptions.—A Game of Ball.—Bull and Bear Fight.—Mountain Fire.—Trading with Sea Vessels.—A Procession for Rain.—A Presidio Chaplain at Last.

A REVOLT, which began at Monterey on the night of November 12, 1829, afforded the easy-going inhabitants of Santa Barbara a little excitement during the remainder of the year and the beginning of the next. The leader of the revolt, Joaquín Solís, an ex-convict, who occupied a ranch near Monterey, gathered about him a crowd of malcontents, seized the presidio, and then struck out for San Francisco. Here his ranks were swelled by deserters from the troops. From San Francisco the rebels proceeded southward past the Missions until they reached the vicinity of Santa Barbara, which they intended to capture. Governor Echeandia, however, left San Diego on December 1, 1829, and reached Santa Barbara two weeks later, where he put the presidio in the best possible state of defense. The missionaries of the three Missions in the county were directed to send all men capable of bearing arms, and whatever animals and supplies they could spare. On January 7, 1830, Echeandia issued a proclamation offering pardon to all the insurgents, except the leaders, on condition that they lay down their arms. On the same day, Solís from Santa Inés or El Refúgio called upon the governor to surrender his command. None of Solís's men accepted the offer of pardon. They hoped that the garrison of Santa Barbara would join them; wherefore, the rebels marched boldly on to Dos Pueblos. On the thirteenth, they even came in sight of the troops, who under the command of Romualdo Pacheco immediately executed a change of base to prevent being

cut off—that is, they retreated from Cieneguita as fast as their legs would carry them and took refuge in the presidio. Then, it appears, the cannonading began on the part of the brave fighters in the fort. "You would have laughed," Dr. Anderson wrote to Captain Cooper of Monterey, on January 24, "had you been here when the gentlemen from your quarter made their appearance. All the people moved into the presidio, except thirty women, who went bag and baggage on board the *Funchal*. The two parties were in sight of each other for nearly two days, and exchanged shots, but at such a distance that there was no chance of my assistance being needed. About thirty have passed over to this side. The general (Echeandia) appears perplexed what to do with them. He seems as much frightened as ever.[1] Pattie relates that "a continual firing had been kept up on both sides during the three days, at the expiration of which General Solís, having expended his ammunition and consumed his provisions, was compelled to withdraw, having sustained no loss, except that of one horse. The cannonballs discharged from the fort upon the enemy had so little force that persons arrested them in their course without injury by doing so." [2]

Bancroft writes that "several represent the army of Solís to have fled at the first discharge of Pacheco's guns. At any rate, the rebel force fled, pursued at not very close quarters, scattering as they advanced northward, and wholly disbanded before they reached the capital, where singly and in groups they soon took advantage of the renewed offers of pardon. The campaign of the south, and the battles of Santa Barbara, Cieneguita, and Dos Pueblos—the first in which Californians were pitted against Californians—were over."

This ridiculous affair had an aftermath, however, which ended bitterly for Fr. Luis Martínez of Mission San Luis

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1 See Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 81.

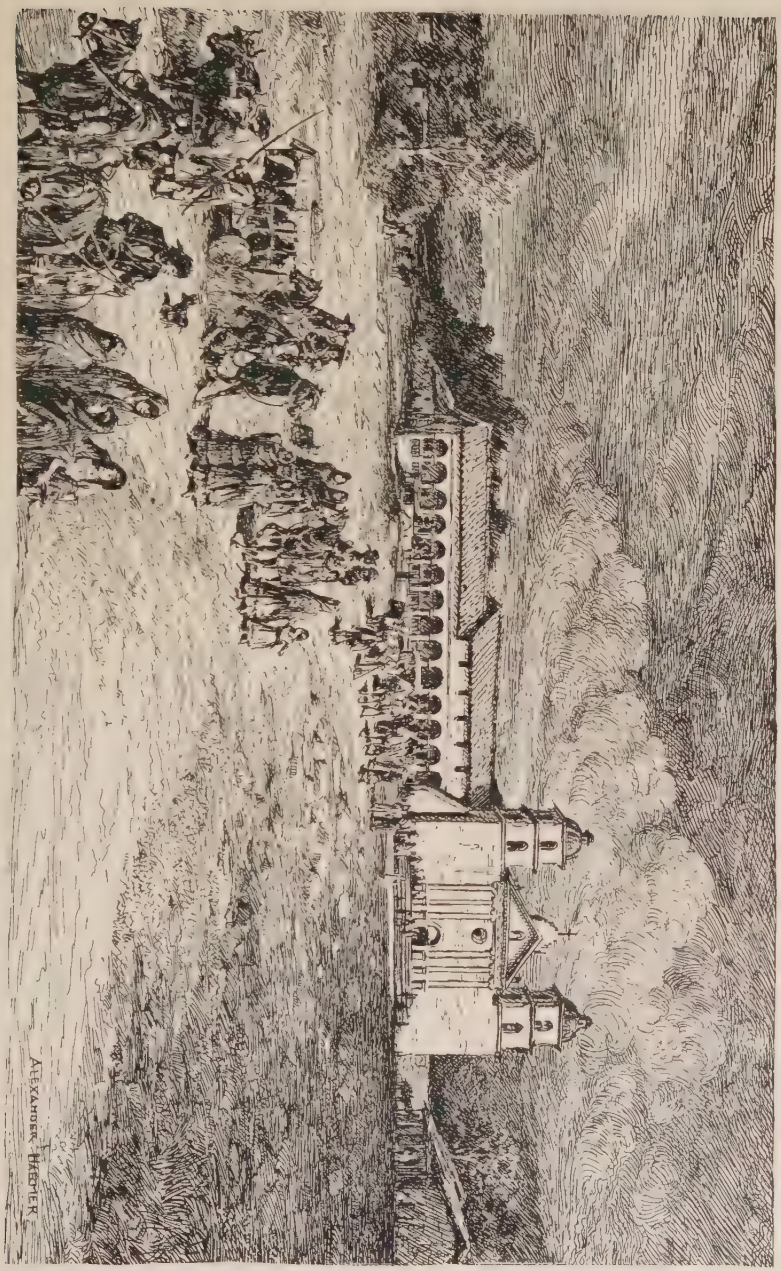
2 *Personal Narrative*, p. 293.

Obispo. Echeandia accused him of having aided the rebels; but the spiteful governor was only eager to vent his spleen on the friars in general, and for that reason selected the missionary of San Luis Obispo as the target. There being no court of appeal, and the government of Mexico being hostile to religious, Echeandia felt quite safe. He had Fr. Martínez arrested and taken to the presidio of Santa Barbara. Here a court-martial was held. The judges were wholly subservient to the will of Echeandia and sentenced the missionary to banishment, although, according to Bancroft himself, the evidence brought against him was very poor. Fr. Martínez was put on board a ship and sent to Spain. Details will be given in the volume on Mission San Luis Obispo. The reader may also consult *The Missions and Missionaries,* volume iii, chapter xvii.

Mr. Alfred Robinson, the author of *Life in California,* arrived in California during the year 1829. His description of the town and presidio of Santa Barbara is interesting. "We found the houses of the town," he writes, "of which there were some two hundred, in not very good condition. They are built in the Spanish mode, with adobe walls, and roofs of tile, and are scattered about outside of the military department; showing a total disregard of order on the part of the authorities. . . . The presidio of Santa Barbara consists of a large square of buildings, surrounded by high walls, and contains a chapel, cemetery, prison, and storehouses. The Commandant, Don Romualdo Pacheco, is a Mexican, who came to the country in the year 1825, with the present Governor Echeandia. The number of men garrisoned under his command does not exceed forty.[3]

"In the morning we walked to the Mission, distant from the town about half a league. The road was pleasant, through scattered oaks; and groups of cattle were seen grazing upon the grassy plains. On the right were spacious wheat fields. At length, through a narrow way, amid

[3] He does not count those stationed at the five Missions.



BARBAREÑOS RETURNING FROM DIVINE SERVICE AT THE MISSION CHURCH.

immense rocks scattered over the ground, we reached the establishment. The stone church, with its two towers and extensive wing, its *artificial clock*,[4] tiled roofs, arched corridor, and majestic fountain, was before us. On the right were various buildings for superintendents, a guardhouse, tannery, and a dilapidated grist-mill; on the left, the spacious garden, with its fruit trees and flowers, and several rows of buildings. Father Antonio Jimeno, the missionary, received us in a small but tastefully arranged apartment, the floor of which was of colored cement, and the walls painted and hung round with pictures of saints. Two or three sofas, a long table and book-case, comprised the furniture. He welcomed us kindly, and after a short conversation, we walked into the 'patio' or square (court yard), where carpenters, saddlers, and shoemakers were at work, and young girls spinning and preparing wool for the loom."

From Robinson, too, we learn that in those days the Indians played ball, though it was not baseball. He writes: "I sat down at my door on my return (from holy Mass at the Mission, on Sunday) to enjoy the following lively scene. In the front of the house was a large square, where the Indians assembled on Sunday afternoons to indulge in their favorite sports and pursue their chief amusement—gambling. Here numbers were gathered together in little knots, who appeared engaged in angry conversation; they were adjusting the boundary lines for the two parties who were to play that afternoon at ball, and were thus occupied till dinner time. When I returned from the dinner they had already commenced, and at least two or three hundred Indians were engaged in the game. It was the 'Presidio Indians' against the 'Mission Indians.' They played with a small ball of hard wood, which, when hit, would bound with tremendous

[4] No other early author nor any document speaks of such a clock, although an old wood-cut shows a large dial surmounting the front gable of the church, but the artist may have got the idea from Robinson. In the rear of the Mission there was a sun dial imbedded in the stone wall.

force without striking the ground for two or three hundred yards. Great excitement prevailed, and immense exertion was manifested on both sides, so that it was not till late in the afternoon that the game was decided in favor of the Indians of the presidio."

The following paragraph from Robinson explains why the foothills about Santa Barbara lack timber. "At this time (1831?)," he writes, "we were much alarmed in consequence of the burning of the woods upon the mountains. For several days the smoke had been seen to rise from the distant hills of San Buenaventura, and gradually approach the town. At last it had reached the confines of the settlement and endangered the fields of grain and gardens. Soon it spread low upon the hills, and, notwithstanding a strong westerly wind was blowing, the flames traveled swiftly to the windward, consuming everything in their course. It was late at night when they reached the rear of the town, and as they furiously wreathed upwards, the sight was magnificent, but terrible. The wind blew directly upon the town, and the large cinders that fell in every direction seemed to threaten us with certain destruction. The air was too hot to breathe. The inhabitants fled from their homes to the beach, or sought the house of Señor Noriega, where prayers were offered and the saints supplicated. The vessels at anchor in the bay were also much endangered, for their decks were literally covered with the burning cinders, and their crews incessantly employed in keeping them wet. During the entire night the ravages of the fire continued, and when daylight broke it had seized upon the vineyard belonging to the Mission. Here the free state of vegetation somewhat checked its progress, and it passed over to the mountains again, to pursue its course northward. On the uplands everything was destroyed, and, for months afterwards, the bare and blackened hills marked the course of the devastating element."

"Through the encouragement of Echeandia," Robinson writes, "vice of all kinds had become prevalent (by 1830)

and the poor misguided Indians saw in the terms *libre* and *independente* a sort of license for the indulgence of every passion. Fortunately for the country, at this crisis the new General, Don Manuel Victoria, arrived at Santa Barbara, on the 10th of January, 1831, on his way to the seat of government at Monterey. Señor Victoria was a tall, lean, half Indian kind of person, with sufficient resolution and courage to constitute him, in his own opinion, a legion amongst this unsophisticated race of Californians. He came unattended, and required no ceremonious reception. As soon as he received the command from Echeandia, his first step was to counteract the ruinous effects of the imprudence of his predecessor, and to restore the Missions to their former state."

Robinson gives the following description of a bull fight that he witnessed at Santa Barbara. The struggle was not between man and bull, however, but between bear and bull. "Old Bruin," he writes, "was first, however, to be caught, and about a dozen *vaqueros*, with their *mayordomo*, started off to entrap him. On such occasions, a bright moonlight night was always selected, and their usual mode of securing him was as follows: In some remote spot which the bears most frequented, a bullock was slain and his carcass left exposed. At an early hour the Indians repaired to some neighboring concealment where they watched the bear's approach, which was announced by the howling of *coyotes*. He usually crept along suspiciously towards the bait, and while eagerly engaged in consuming it, the Indians suddenly pounced upon him from their ambush, and with their lassos thrown around his neck, tumbled him to the ground. Oftentimes at the approach of his pursuers he would rise on his hind legs, prepared for defense, when the lassos were either broken or forced from the rider. The expert *vaquero*, however, generally succeeded, and poor Bruin, foaming with rage, gagged, and secured with a dozen lassos, was drawn to the Mission, either upon a low, two-wheeled cart, or a large bullock's hide.

THE TOWN OF SANTA BARBARA ABOUT 1831. THE MISSION IN THE DISTANCE TO THE LEFT.

"Success had attended them on this occasion, and at sunrise a large grey bear was secured to a tree in front of the Mission. It was past noon when I rode up and dismounted to look at the poor condemned brute, who, almost exhausted with heat and rage, seemed hardly competent to the trial that awaited him. Persons were standing around, thrusting pointed sticks into his sides, till the madness of the infuriated animal knew no bounds. A sailor, rather the worse for *'aguardiente,'* reeled up to take part in the fun, and with his recklessness and wit added infinitely to the amusement. At length an unfortunate stagger brought him within reach of Bruin's paw, who seized him by the leg and drove his teeth quite through the calf. With extreme difficulty, they rescued him from his danger, and a skillful practitioner happening to be near, the wound was immediately sewed up.

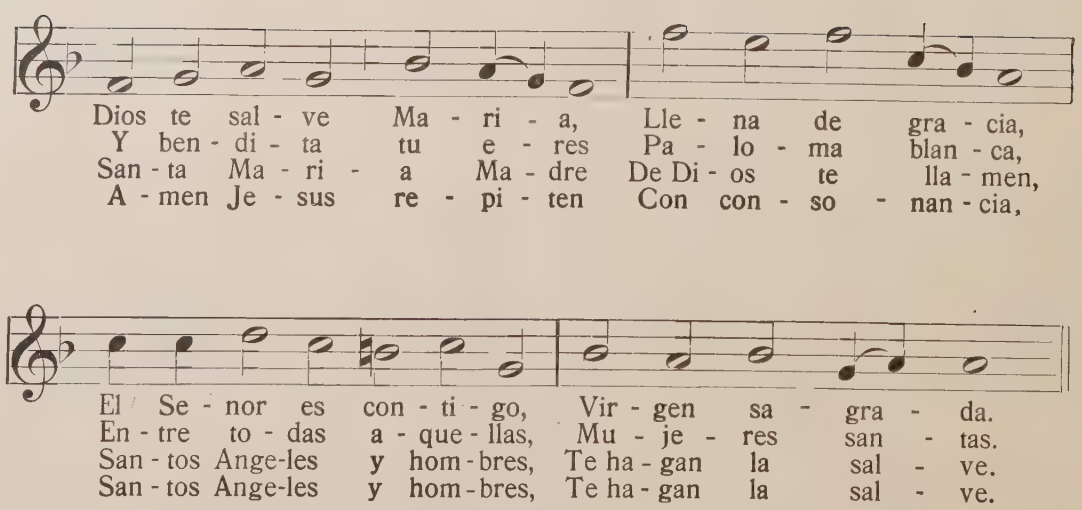
"The time arrived for the sport to commence, and every one repaired to a large square, formed by the junction of the long corridor with a temporary fence of poles. The bear, still encumbered with his fastenings, was first brought in, and then the bull came plunging into the enclosure, as if a match for a dozen such opponents. A lasso was fastened to the hind leg of the bear, leaving his fore paws at liberty for defense, and connecting with one of the bull's forelegs, so contrived as to give them a scope of about twenty feet for manoeuvering. This being accomplished, the other fastenings were removed, and the two terrified creatures remained sole occupants of the square. The bull roared, pawed the earth, flung his head in the air, and at every movement of his opponent seemed inclined to escape, but the lasso checked his course, and brought them both with a sudden jerk to the ground. Bruin, careless of the scene around him, looked with indifference upon his enemy, seemingly too exhausted to bear the struggle, but the jerk of the lasso aroused him as if to a sense of danger, and he rose up on his hind legs, in the posture of defense. At this moment, the bull rushed upon him, and with his sharp horns seemed

to have gored him through; but not so, for a mournful bellow told his situation. The bear had seized upon him by the nose, whilst his paws clung around his horns. A sudden exertion, however, liberated the bull from this embrace, and a second plunge drove his horns half way through his enemy's side, and tossed him high in the air, whence he fell powerless to the ground. One or two more successful attacks decided the fate of Bruin, and he was dragged from the arena covered with numerous and ghastly wounds. The conflict in this case had been short, owing to the exhausted condition of the bear; but on some occasions, it was continued even to the exhausting of a second bull; this was rare, however, and more frequently a strong bull was able to cope with two such adversaries."

"On the arrival of a new vessel from the United States," Robinson writes, "every man, woman, boy, and girl, in the place took a proportionate share of interest as to the qualities of her cargo. If the first inquired for rice, sugar, and tobacco, the latter asked for prints, silks, and satins; and if the boy wanted a 'Wilson's cook knife,' the girl desired that there might be some satin ribbons. Thus, the whole population hailed with eagerness an arrival; even the Indian, in his unsophisticated style asked for *'Paños colorados'* and *'Abalorios'*—red handkerchiefs and beads."

Robinson tells also how the Barbareños in their needs went to the right door. "The year (1833) was nearly at the close. The season for rain had set in, but as yet none had fallen. The hills and fields were parched by the heat of the sun, and all vegetation seemed partially destroyed. Every one cried for rain! One wished it for his corn, another for his beans, another for his wheat, and all for their pasturage, the scarcity of which was likely to cause trouble among the cattle. At this important crisis, the holy Father of the Mission was besought that the statue *'de Nuestra Señora del Rosário'* might be carried in procession through the town, whilst prayers and supplications should be offered for her intercession with the Almighty in behalf of their distress.

DIOS TE SALVE MARIA


Dios te sal - ve Ma - ri - a, Lle - na de gra - cia,
Y ben - di - ta tu e - res Pa - lo - ma blan - ca,
San - ta Ma - ri - a Ma - dre De Di - os te lla - men,
A - men Je - sus re - pi - ten Con con - so - nan - cia,
El Se - nor es con - ti - go, Vir - gen sa - gra - da.
En - tre to - das a - que - llas, Mu - je - res san - tas.
San - tos Ange-les y hom - bres, Te ha - gan la sal - ve.
San - tos Ange-les y hom - bres, Te ha - gan la sal - ve.

A LOVELY DITTY SUNG IN THE MISSIONS ON ALL OCCASIONS.

This was complied with, as was customary on such occasions, and conducted in the following manner. First, came the priest in his church robes, who, with a fine clear voice, led the Rosary. On each side of him were two altar boys, and the music followed; then, four females, who supported on their shoulders a kind of litter, on which rested a square box containing the figure of the holy Virgin. Lastly came a long train of men, women and children, who united in the recital of the sacred mysteries. The figure was ornamented for the occasion with great finery, and every one who pleased, had contributed some rich ornament of jewelry or dress, for its display. In this manner, they proceeded from the church, through the town, to the beach; chanting verses between the mysteries, accompanied by violins and flutes. From the beach, they returned to the church in the same order, when the prayers were concluded. After this performance, all looked for rain. Should their expectations, however, not be realized, the procession would be repeated until they were." [5]

At last, the presidio and town of Santa Barbara received a chaplain. For this the missionaries had sighed ever since the founding of the presidio, in 1782. They longed to be relieved of the distasteful duty of having to act as pastors for the soldiers and their families, when they had their hands full caring for the Indians. The Dominican Fr. Antonio Menéndez, who had been transferred from the presidio of San Diego to that of Santa Barbara, arrived at the latter place in 1831, and thenceforth served as chaplain to the settlers and soldiers. It was on June 5 of that year that he officiated for the first time at a Baptism in the presidio chapel.

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[5] Robinson, *Life in California*, 53-57; 105; 108-110; 113-116; 137; 157-158.

CHAPTER XVII.

Governor Figueroa's Emancipation Decree.—Not Appreciated by the Neophytes.—His Unwarranted "Secularization" Decree.—Inventory of the Mission.—Administrator Rule Inaugurated.—A High-priced Teacher. — The Zacatecan Friars. — Status of the Missionaries Changed.—José de la Guerra Appointed Depositary for the Friars. —His Privileges.

ON JULY 15, 1833, Governor José Figueroa, against his better knowledge, issued his Provisional Regulation for the Emancipation of the Mission Indians.[1] Very few of the neophytes cared to avail themselves of its provisions. The great majority everywhere preferred to remain under the solicitous care of the missionaries. Then, to offer them another bait, the governor, on October 15, 1833, from Santa Barbara, informed the alcalde of San José that the neophytes of the Missions were not yet citizens; that there must be no elections at the Missions, but that the Indians who emancipated themselves from missionary rule were entitled to vote.[2] Even this inducement had no appreciable effect. So Figueroa, harassed by the young paisano chiefs, in the following year went a long step further, and that, too, without the approval of the General Government in Mexico, consequently without authority. On August 9, 1834, he promulgated the decree of Mission secularization, which, also without legal authority, had been passed by the territorial legislature on August 2.[3] This piece of iniquity was strengthened by another decree, adopted by the so-called legislature on November 3, and promulgated by the timid governor on November 4, 1834. This completed the acts of confiscation of the Mission property as also the removal of the Indians

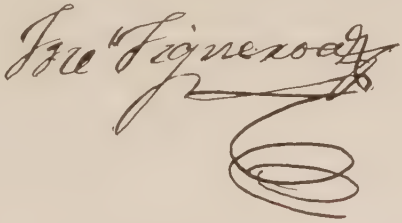
[1] Document in *Missions and Missionaries*, iii, 473-476.

[2] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., San José*, iv, 131, in Bancroft, iv, 332, note.

[3] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 523-530.

from the control of the Franciscans, who, with their neophytes had created and successfully maintained the wealth of the Missions without the least compensation. Hirelings, termed administrators, with a salary and free board for their families and relatives, thereafter ruled the Indians and administered the property. As to the neophytes, they only changed masters. They had not only to labor more than formerly; but the treatment they received at the hands of their new masters was quite different from what they were accustomed to under the fatherly and indulgent rule of the friars.

Pursuant to the decree of August 9, 1834, Ensign Anastásio Carrillo, in September of the same year, was appointed



commissioner and directed to take over the Mission of Santa Barbara by inventory. Figueroa hastened, or rather he was hurried, to place this Mission in secular hands. The inventory, taken on March 15, 1835,[4] showed the valuation as follows: *Credits* (outstanding dues), $14,953; *Buildings*, $22,936; *Furniture, Tools, Goods in store-house, Vineyards, Orchards, Corrals, and Animals*, $19,590; *Sacristy*, $1,500; *Church*, $16,000; *Vestments, etc.*, $4,567; *Library*, $159; *Eight Bells, Ranchos*, $30,961 (i. e., San Antonio, $9,421; Dos Pueblos, $12,055; San Marcos, $6,111; Santa Cruz, $1,650; San José, $1,050; Guyzapa, $674). Total valuation, $113,960, or less the debts of $1,000, $112,960.

At the end of 1834, the live stock, distributed over the

[4] The original, complete, is in the *Santa Barbara Archives.*

aforementioned ranchos, comprised 3,400 head of cattle, 2,624 sheep, 25 goats, 55 pigs, 340 horses, and 70 mules.

This inventory was signed by Anastásio Carrillo and Fr. Antonio Jimeno.

The inventory having been taken, in keeping with the confiscation decree, a manager was to replace Fr. Antonio Jimeno. Accordingly, Governor Figueroa, under date of May 29, 1835, wrote to one José García: "Using my authority which the Reglamento Provisional of August 9, 1834, conferred on me, I name you mayordomo-administrator of Santa Barbara Mission with a salary of $50 a month and assistance, and you are to commence to enjoy it from the first of the coming June."[5] Carrillo, therefore, on July 25, turned the Mission over to García.

On the same day, May 29, 1835, Governor Figueroa notified Anastásio Carrillo that he approved the naming of Raymundo Carrillo to keep the books at a salary of $10 a month, to be paid by the Mission. Furthermore, Leandro González was made field overseer at $16.50 a month from October.[6] The Mission was thus burdened with salaries that had not troubled it before, and the neophytes were obliged to produce them. The consequence will appear presently.

The interesting correspondence which follows needs no comment. While still in charge as commissioner, Anastásio Carrillo, under date of November 28, 1834, wrote to the governor that on said day Mariano Bonilla had presented himself with an order from Figueroa that he should have an annual salary of $1,000 as teacher of this Mission of Santa Barbara, and that the said Bonilla wanted the pay for two months in advance and thereafter the amount due at the end of every month. Carrillo told the governor that he had no intention of opposing the governor's orders, but as he, the governor, had already given permission to convert the Mission into a pueblo, he would say that the funds do

[5] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ix, 244-245; 209-210.

[6] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ix, 243; Bancroft, iii, 346, 657.

not reach to cover the salary of the teacher, and that the Indians were needed to care for the property of the Mission. Indeed, not half could be paid, and the number of the pupils would not exceed twenty, and these the missionary Father offered to teach for a little consideration, which would seem more expedient for economy's sake.

It appears that the school was opened; but on January 25, 1835, Carrillo, still in charge, informed Figueroa: "The teacher has been secured; but the young Indians whom he has received are very few; wherefore it would be well to transfer him to the presidio, where there are more Indian children and many white children." On April 11, 1835, however, the governor wrote from San Gabriel to Carrillo, telling him that in view of the denunciation received against Bonilla as one of the Torres conspirators against himself at Los Angeles, he (Figueroa) had determined to remove Bonilla from the office of teacher, and that he (Carrillo) should notify Bonilla to make himself ready to depart for Mexico and report to the Supreme Government.

Bonilla did not leave. During the summer, Figueroa took sick and José Castro became civil governor. To him Bonilla wrote on October 26, 1835, "that he had received the official notice of October 22, in which the temporary governor communicated to him (Bonilla) the decision of the legislative assembly on occupying the position of teacher of primary letters at the Mission of San Fernando; that he went there to take possession; but that the administrator in charge of the Mission arrived at the presidio (of Santa Barbara) and told him he could not be put in charge of the office until orders were communicated to him regarding the funds of the Mission.[7] This terminated the scheme so far as Santa Barbara was concerned.

On January 15, 1833, nine Mexican Franciscans from the missionary College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, landed at Monterey with Governor Figueroa. They were to take over the

[7] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ix, 81-82; 223-224; 271-278; 446.

northern Missions from San Carlos to Sonoma, in order to replace the Spanish friars, who withdrew to the south. Fr. Narcisco Durán, the presidente and vice-comissary of the Fernandinos, as the Spanish Franciscans were called on account of their mother College in the city of Mexico, accordingly moved from Mission San José to that of Santa Barbara, which was thereafter the headquarters of the southern Franciscans. Fr. Antonio Jimeno, however, remained in charge of Mission Santa Barbara.

All over California the management of administrators had, even in the first year, begun to result in disorder and decay. In the spring of 1835, therefore, Fr. Francisco García Diego y Moreno, the comissary of the Zacatecan Fathers, came down to Santa Barbara to consult Fr. Durán and to meet Governor Figueroa. The latter left Los Angeles for Santa Barbara on March 30, of that year. Hence, the meeting took place on or about April 11, when the governor rested there.

The confiscation of the Missions changed the status of the missionaries, whose sustenance, like that of the neophytes, had been provided by the Mission fund, to which they had added all their personal earnings. Now the Fathers were evicted from the management and thrown on the mercy of the administrators. These had orders to provide for the missionaries a fixed salary from the Mission income. The Fathers regarded this only as an alms, which they had to accept in order to live, if indeed it was paid at all, which was uncertain. Kind friends would sometimes contribute a donation or a Mass stipend for their support. Notwithstanding their exposed state, the Order was jealous that the Fathers did not transgress the vow of poverty. Hence, what they received was to be deposited with some layman appointed for that purpose, who from the receipts procured what the Fathers needed. He was called the Síndico, Depositary, or Spiritual Father. Such a síndico was named for the Fernandinos by the College, as appears from the following document:

"Fr. José Maria Hidalgo of the Regular Observance of our Father St. Francis, Preacher Apostolic, Ex-Discreto, and now Presidente of the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mexico, health and peace in our Lord to *Don José de la Guerra.*

"Inasmuch as by the profession which we Religious of the Observance of St. Francis make as sons of such a Father,—in order to disentangle ourselves from all worldly cares and occupy our minds with the exercise of charity and holy prayer,—not only do we renounce individually temporal goods, like other Religious, but also as a community, we render ourselves incapable of rights or acts of one kind or another, so that we can not have or possess them as proprietors nor appear in principle or out of it to demand even the things which by way of alms are left us by benefactors in their wills, contenting ourselves as poor and humble Religious with the simple use for our natural sustenance.

"For the sake of this perfect observance, and also lest the alms be robbed, the Supreme Pontiffs have reserved to themselves the dominion and ownership of our convents, and they have ordained that in the places where it is deemed necessary a Síndico Apostolico should be appointed, who in the name of His Holiness may receive and administer the alms which are offered to our various religious convents or in any way whatsoever are offered or promised; and he may in the name of the Holy See collect, ask, or demand, in court or outside it, as may be more expedient, all the alms conceded, given, and presented to our Order, be they given by testament, legacy, or writing, or in any manner whatever.

"Therefore, in conformity with the Brief of our Holy Father Martin V, and Paul V, being well satisfied of your kind affection for our sacred Order, in accord with the Venerable Discretory, in virtue of these presents signed, etc., I institute and declare Don José de la Guerra y Noriega Síndico and Administrator of the Missions of Upper Cali-

THE EARLIEST PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MISSION, TAKEN BY EDWARD VISCHER ABOUT 1863.

fornia, so that he may have, collect, ask, and demand in court or out of it, all and every alms, etc., given and offered for our succor and benefit of the said Missions of Alta California and their missionaries, etc.

"Inasmuch as care and labor ought not remain without remuneration, and as we professing the highest degree of poverty can not recompense with temporal goods, in recognition of our gratitude we admit the said Señor Guerra y Noriega to our Brotherhood, letting him participate in all the holy Sacrifices, spiritual exercises, prayers, disciplines, fastings, and all other mortifications annexed to our Apostolic Institute, etc. Moreover, as soon as his demise is made known, the Superior, who may be in charge at the time, will apply for your soul so many holy Masses as there are priests in the community; and each religious chorista and lay brother will recite an Office for the Dead. Also the funeral shall be celebrated in the church as solemnly as possible. Given on this day and College on July 14, 1835. P. M. D. R. P. G.

"Fr. José Hidalgo, Fr. Antonio Ordaz,
"Guardian. (SEAL) Secretary."[8]

Captain José de la Guerra had been acting as depositary for the Franciscans since about the year 1820, designated as such either by Fr. Comissary Mariano Payéras or by Fr. Presidente José Señan; but the formal document, if one was issued at all, is not extant.

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8 *Santa Barbara Archives,* ad annum.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Governor Figueroa's Last Will.—His Death.—Remains Taken to Santa Barbara.—Funeral Services.—Burial in the Crypt of the Mission Church.—Memory of it Forgotten.—Remains Discovered.—Mariano Chico, Governor.—Infuriated at the Fathers.—Orders Fr. Durán Banished.—Santa Barbara in Revolt.—Fr. Durán Stays.—Chico Banished.—Predicament of the Friars.—Protest.—Administrators.—Fathers Durán and Jimeno as Boarders.

GOVERNOR JOSÉ FIGUEROA, who had been ailing a long time, at last, on September 6, 1835, was obliged to take to his bed. On September 22 he, moreover, resigned the office of governor; whereupon José Castro, as the senior member of the legislature, took charge temporarily. Five days later Figueroa made his last will. It contained the following directions: "In the first place, I commend my soul to God, its Creator and Redeemer, and the body to the earth, the common mother of all mortals. I wish, however, that my body be deposited, if possible, in the church of Mission Santa Barbara; and I solicit its better conservation through the care of the Fernandinos religious, whom it may please to do me this charity, and also to preserve my ashes, unless the Supreme Government, to which an account shall be transmitted at the first opportunity, directs otherwise."[1]

In the afternoon of September 29, 1835, while the Very Rev. Fr. García Diego and the Rev. Fr. José Reál knelt at his bedside, Figueroa died. Fr. Reál, the missionary in charge of San Carlos, had administered the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction before the Fr. Comisário Prefecto could arrive. On account of the vomiting spells which the dying man suffered, the holy Viaticum could not

[1] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap.*, iv, 181. We wonder whether Figueroa remembered when asking as much from the very friars, that he had rendered them homeless through his decree of August 9, 1834!

be administered. The funeral was held at Monterey with all the pomp due the position of the deceased.[2]

What happened then is related in the official report of Comandante Juan Maria Ibárra to Commander Nicolas Gutiérrez as follows: "On the twenty-seventh of the present month (October) the brigantine *Avon*, which brought the body of the General (Figueroa), dropped anchor in this port (of Santa Barbara). I immediately went on board and came to an understanding with the captain, Don Juan Antonio Muñoz, as Your Honor had directed me in your official letter of the thirteenth of the present month. We both landed and proceeded to the Mission, in order to arrange with the Rev. Fathers the manner which would have to be observed with becoming propriety and pomp. It was agreed that on the twenty-eighth the body should be removed from the ship and conducted with all possible splendor until it was deposited in the chapel of the presidio, whence on the following day it should be taken to the Mission for the funeral ceremonies. The remains had to be deposited one day in the chapel because it was a holy day of obligation, when the Rev. Fathers had to celebrate the holy Masses of obligation. This was the reason why the body was not interred that same day. However, everything appears to have co-operated in our favor for the solemn obsequies of our deceased governor; for, as well on the ship as on land, due honors were accorded. In addition to this, I and the illustrious town council of this presidio have paid special honors to the dead governor and friend.

"The Rev. Fathers have conducted themselves in the best manner possible in solemnizing the honors of said Señor.—Santa Barbara, October 29, 1835."[3]

Robinson writes that, while the remains of Figueroa were "removed from the ship to the shore, minute guns were fired, and a large procession followed to their interment.

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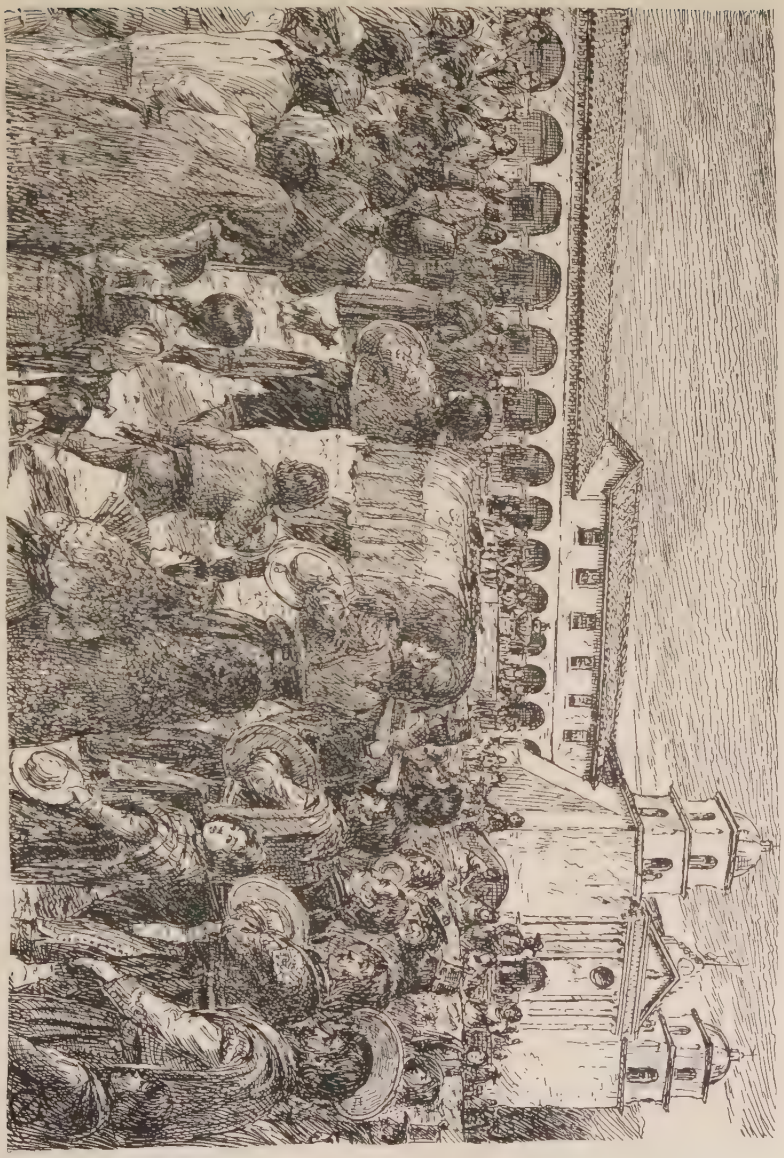
[2] For the action of the territorial assembly, etc., see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, 599-601.

[3] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap.*, vol. iv, p. 180.

. . . They were deposited in the vaults under the Mission church."[4]

Fr. Comisário Prefecto Narciso Durán was the celebrant of the Requiem Mass, and there may have been a sermon, though of this nothing is on record. Neither in the Death Register of the Mission nor in that of the presidio parish is there the slightest mention of Figueroa or of his burial. For that reason, until August 24, 1911, none of the old settlers could affirm where the body of Figueroa had been interred. Some claimed it had been taken out and buried in the cemetery, while others would have it that the remains had been taken to Mexico. With the Ibárra report and the testament of the governor before us, however, every doubt could be removed. On the date mentioned, all the niches in the vault under the sanctuary, which had been walled up years before, were opened. It was discovered that one of them contained a well-preserved coffin. On removing the lid, numerous skulls, presumably of deceased missionaries, were lying on top. When these were taken away, a bright uniform appeared. Its size corresponded with the size of Figueroa, who was of small stature. The shoulder straps seemed to be of silver. A chapeau lay across the center of the body, which had shrunken or decayed, as the whole uniform lay flat. The sword on the left side had rusted away to within about eight inches of the hilt. On the right lay a gold-headed cane, which it was known the former governor used. The skull, which was very small, had a thick growth of long dark hair. There was no doubt that here we had the remains of José Figueroa, late governor of California. Only one other military person was buried in the vault, namely, Captain José de la Guerra, who as síndico of the friars was entitled to this privilege. His body was identified, as was also that of his son Pablo, who for the same reason had found a resting place in the crypt. Furthermore, the body of the wife of José de la Guerra was

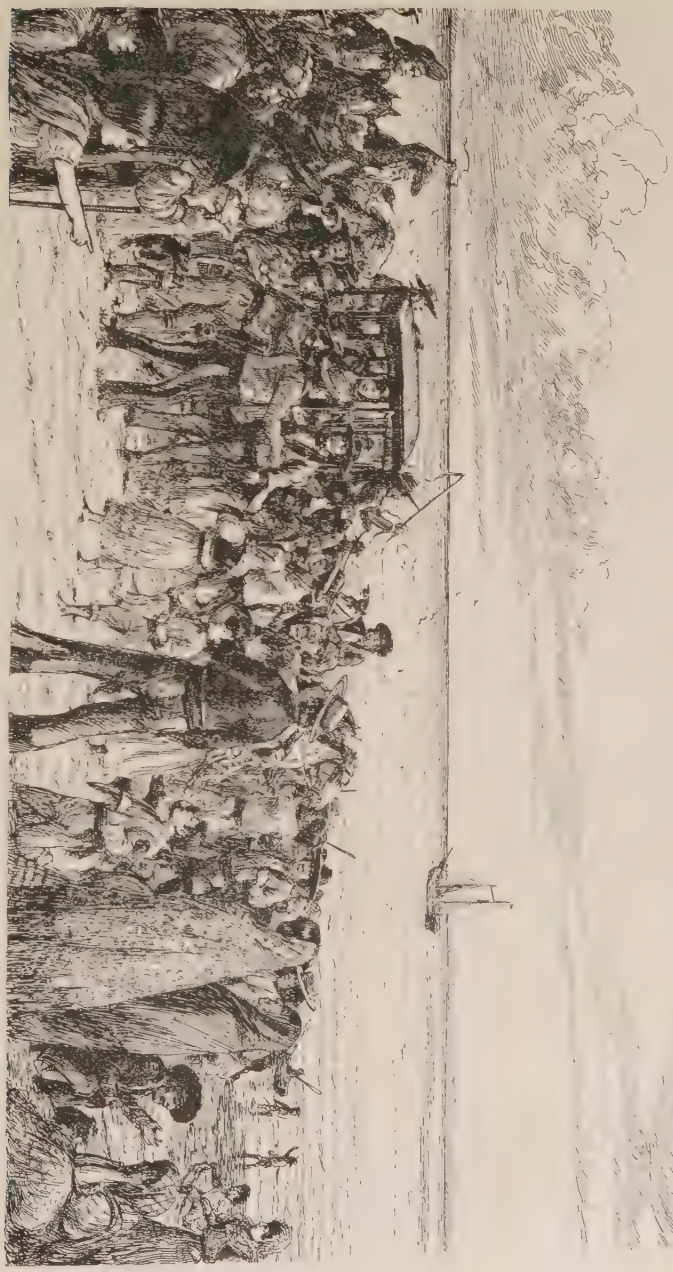
[4] *Life in California,* p. 180.



FUNERAL OF JOSÉ FIGUEROA, GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA.

in one of the niches by the side of her husband. Finally, the remains of Francisca, wife of José A. Aguirre, a great benefactor of the Fathers, were given a place in the crypt in token of gratitude. No other secular of the Mission Period was accorded the same privilege. A record was drawn up of the contents of the several niches, whereupon these were again walled up by two stonemasons.

The Government of Mexico appointed a successor to Figueroa in the person of Colonel Mariano Chico. He arrived at Santa Barbara by ship in April, 1836, and from there continued overland to Monterey, where he took the oath of office on May 3. On June 14, he again appeared at Santa Barbara, this time full of wrath. He claimed that the Fathers at Mission Santa Inés had not received him with due respect. The fact is, they had been ignorant of his coming. Fr. Durán tried to persuade the irate official that no disrespect had been intended; but Chico would not accept the excuse offered; and when Fr. Durán, a few days later, in reply to Chico's question, declared that the Missions were not under any greater obligation to furnish supplies to the government than private individuals of the territory, Chico's wrath knew no bounds. Returning to Monterey, he proposed that the legislature decree Fr. Durán's banishment from the country. The unprincipled seven legislators, Rafael Gómez, David Spence, Manuel Crespo, Joaquín Gómez, José Castro, J. B. Alvarado, and José Antonio de la Guerra, forthwith approved the governor's proposition. "It is not unlikely," Bancroft remarks, "that the chief motive of this support of Chico by the Junta was to promote, through Durán's well known popularity at Santa Barbara, the disaffection of that conservative people, hitherto unmanageable in the interest of political agitators. The order for the expulsion was sent to the alcalde on July 25th, 1836; and all we know of the result is that on August 4th, Padre Durán announced to the alcalde that he could not go to Monterey by land, but must await the *Leonidas*. It is stated, however, by several persons, who must have known the



HOW THE ATTEMPT TO BANISH FR. PRESIDENTE DURAN FAILED.

facts, that when an attempt was made to put the Padre Prefecto on board a vessel, the people of the town rose *en masse,* women in the front ranks, and prevented the local authorities from executing Chico's order. Santa Barbara, for the first time was in open revolt against the government."[5] In the end, it was Chico, and not Fr. Durán, who had to leave California. On July 31, six days after despatching the order to banish the friar, Chico found himself on board a ship for Mexico, never to return.[6]

The Fathers had made and were still making great sacrifices by submitting to the disagreeable situation brought about through the confiscation of the Mission property, which they and their convert Indians had accumulated for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the neophytes, who, like the missionaries themselves, were now living subject to the whims of selfish administrators. Notwithstanding these sacrifices, there were such as grudged the creators of the Mission wealth the pittance allowed them, and often the very quarters assigned to them, doubtless because they could not exploit the Indians as they desired. As will be seen later, this made the condition of the missionaries exceedingly unpleasant. In fact, things became so disagreeable that the aged Fr. Durán, the Superior of all the missionaries, desired to leave the ungrateful country and its ungrateful people. Even calumny, it appears, was resorted to, in order to render life burdensome to the spiritual guides of the helpless neophytes. This is apparent from a protest which Fr. Durán and Fr. Antonio Jimeno deemed it expedient to address to the temporary governor, only a month before the arrival of the unspeakable Chico. It reads as follows:

"It has come to our notice (because it was published in this presidio) that among the false representations which Your Honor has received in the name of this community of neophytes, one of them claims that we still meddle with

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[5] *California,* vol. iii, pp. 435-436.

[6] For details, see *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 20-38.

the temporal management of this Mission. Inasmuch as this statement is false and slanderous and improbable, and inasmuch as the author thereof proposes to discredit us before your government, and to sow the seeds of discord among the administrator, the neophytes, and us, we should be grateful to Your Honor if you would take the trouble to investigate this matter well, in order that our conduct be not so easily outraged by men who, because of their personal and sinister views, as Your Honor knows, endeavor to disturb the peace among these incautious natives.—Santa Barbara, March 24, 1836.—Fr. Narciso Durán, Fr. Antonio Jimeno."[7]

While José M. García, the administrator of Mission Santa Barbara, managed the Indians and their property, he and his assistants, of course, first helped themselves to their salaries out of the income. During the half-century of the Franciscan management that much money remained in the Mission treasury. In addition, the secular administrators usually had large families and numerous relatives, who all claimed they were entitled to support. During García's rule, Raymundo Carrillo was *llavero*, that is to say, keeper of the keys or a sort of steward, and clerk with a salary of $30 a month. On June 20, 1836, he supplanted García as administrator. On October 13, 1838, he in turn was succeeded by Manuel Cota. During these four years the live stock of all kinds, which at the end of 1834 consisted of 6,514 head, according to Bancroft, decreased to 1,212 head of all kinds. In this year, 1838, as Bancroft furthermore relates, the salaries to be produced by the remaining neophytes were: For two priests, $1,500; Nicolas, as surgeon, $100; Cota, administrator, $480; Valenzuela, mayordomo, $240; Ponce de Leon, clerk, $120; Vicente, corporal, $144; Lino, sacristan, $72; and the blacksmith, $120. Total for the year, $3,276.[8] From this it is clear why the Mission property could not increase.

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[7] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* xi, 247.

[8] Bancroft, iii, 656.

Let us see how the two Fathers, Fr. Narciso Durán, the head of the Franciscans in California, and Fr. Antonio Jimeno, fared as boarders of these administrators. Writing to the Superior of San Fernando College in Mexico City, under date of September 25, 1836, just when Raymundo Carrillo was administering the property and the Indians, Fr. Durán among many other things has this to say: "The Missions are coming to an end; but the fondness of those concerned for their victims (the Mission property), on which they are growing fat, forbids them to let them go until they can not avoid it. All these things I have sent to you in writing (in another letter), so that you may do what you can before the Government, in order that a remedy may be applied against the great disorders and the torrents of evils which are overwhelming us, and which are afflicting us to such a degree that I can assure you, if we are not relieved, we shall scarcely be able to bear it another year. . . . As it is, a state of utter abandonment has set in, the consequence of having removed the Indians and their land and property from our paternal care.

"The first step must be that from our houses be driven the administrators, who now have possession of the quarters which our brethren occupied when two Religious were stationed at a Mission. As it is, we can not give a home to a poor, aged, and infirm Father, without exposing him to the indignity of being treated like a dishrag (un trapo de cocina); for these officials will recognize as missionary only him from whom they can promise themselves more dissimulation and connivance at their management, as has happened at Purisima, San Luis Rey, and San Diego. They dared as much even at this Mission of Santa Barbara, where we two are together. The administrators have placed in our very houses their numerous families, their women, their crying and turbulent children, and a multitude of relatives, who all make an unbearable racket.

"This can not continue any longer. It means being martyred with needles. . . . Hence, first of all, a strict

"ADMINISTRATORS HAVE PLACED IN OUR HOUSES THEIR NUMEROUS FAMILIES, WHO ALL MAKE AN UNBEARABLE RACKET." (Ft. Duran.)

command from the Supreme Government will be necessary to restore the Missions to us and rid us of these parasite administrators, who have caused more ruin and evil than a horde of Cossacks. . . . Your Reverences can not picture to yourselves what we must suffer from those who intruded themselves into our houses where we had always been the sole masters. If now we want to live apart from the administrators, we are obliged to pay for the food which we have produced. If we want to eat at their table, besides having our allowance more or less cut down, we have to conform our taste, time, and company to theirs, which commonly are altogether contrary to our habits and repugnant to our character and position. If we want to live apart, one day there will be no meat, another day will see no firewood, and on another day the cook will be sick or will have run away, for the Indians do not observe regularity; and, inasmuch as they see us prostrate, and without power to employ force, they show us little consideration. Thus we pass a life capable of tiring out a saint. We have borne this for three years; but it can not continue."[9] So far as could be learned, Fr. Durán occupied the little room in the rear of the sala, or reception room; Fr. Jimeno lived in the room to the left of the sala, now the library of the Tertiaries.

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[9] *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, pp. 98-115, passim.

CHAPTER XIX.

Mariano Vallejo.—His Boorish Treatment of Fr. Durán.—His Insufferable Conceit.—J. B. Alvarado, Governor *de facto*.—Proves Disloyal.—A New Flag.—How Fr. Durán Saved California from Civil War.—Ruthless Slaughter of Mission Cattle.—How the Mission was Muleted.—William Hartnell Inspector at Santa Barbara.—Administrator Cota Maltreats Indian.—Is Suspended.—Minor Officials Dismissed.—Fr. Durán Appointed Manager.—Yields for the Sake of the Neophytes.

ABOUT this time an incident occurred at Santa Barbara, which involved both José de la Guerra and Fr. Durán. By the grace of the four members (José Castro, Juan B. Alvarado, Antonio Buelna, and José Antonio de la Guerra) who, at Monterey on November 6-9, 1836, had constituted themselves *The Free and Sovereign State of Alta California*,[1] Mariano Vallejo had become military general of the territory. He was then twenty-eight years of age, "proud and pompous in manner . . . a martinet by disposition and education," as Bancroft says. At Santa Barbara he did not find matters according to his ideas of military discipline, and therefore he proposed a change. In a few days, the guardhouse was crowded, for practically every officer was under arrest. Captain De la Guerra was ordered to take command of Santa Barbara; when he declined on the ground of ill health, he was placed under arrest in his own house. Fr. Prefecto Durán was petitioned to intercede in behalf of his friend. We should gladly have left to oblivion young Vallejo's ill-mannered treatment of the seventy-year-old Superior of the Franciscans in California; but, since even forty years later, Don Mariano gloated over the incident and sought to justify his boorishness, it is proper to repeat in his own words what happened.

"Having learned," he himself relates at the age of about

[1] *Missions and Missionaries*, iv, p. 56.

seventy, "that Castillero had been snubbed (for interceding in behalf of De la Guerra), they applied to the Rev. Father Durán, Presidente of the Missions. Without delay, the Rev. Prelate—plump and sleek as an ox fattened for the slaughter—alighted from his carriage. Leaning upon his stick, he ascended the stairs which led to my office. . . . The Rev. Prelate at length entered and saluted. After looking around for a chair and seeing nothing that even resembled a chair, he remained standing; for, to prevent loiterers from assembling in public offices, as had been the custom, I had left in my office only two chairs, one for my use and the other for my secretary. I saluted the Rev. Fr. Durán and asked him what he might want." Fr. Durán merely pleaded for the release of Captain De la Guerra in a few words which Vallejo spins out into a speech. The end of it all was that Vallejo, in a haughty manner, told the venerable missionary that he should not meddle in matters that pertained to military service. With this the interview ended.[2] Later we shall find the same Vallejo imprisoned at Fort Sutter. How glad he would have been if a priest then had exercised his God-given right to intercede for those in distress, and for him, Vallejo, especially; but there was none.

Nicolás Gutièrrez, on November 5, 1836, was forced to resign the temporary governorship and to leave the territory. Juan B. Alvarado took his place. He was not recognized in the south, however, where the equally ambitious Pio Pico coveted the position. Conservative Santa Barbara appeared undecided. Alvarado, therefore, came down from the north with a force of sixty Californians and a party of foreign riflemen under a Tennesseean adventurer named Isaac Graham. To gain his point, the governor *de facto* thought it imperative to secure the good will of the Fr. Prefecto, and so Alvarado one day appeared at the Mission. He and Vallejo claim that Alvarado was ceremoniously received at

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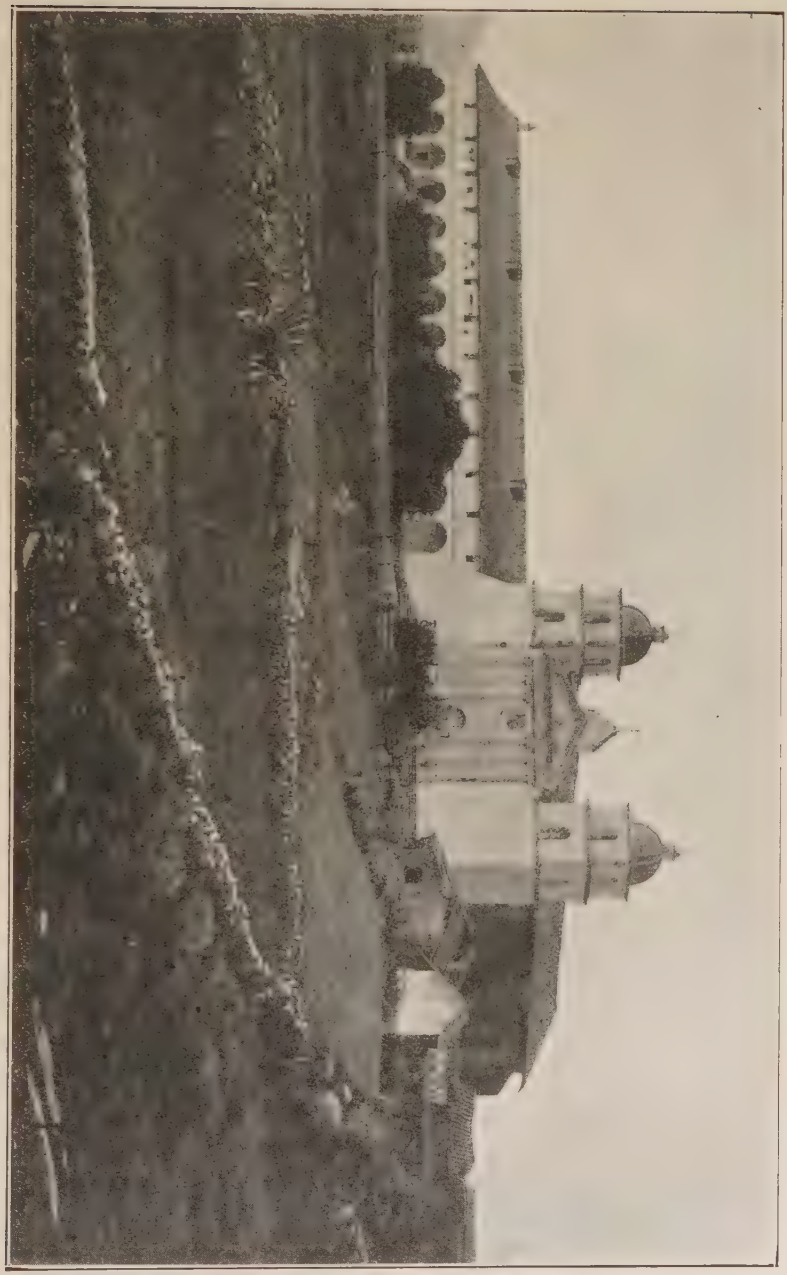
[2] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, Appendix, A; Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 581-582.



MISSION SANTA BARBARA BEFORE THE ROADS PASSED BEYOND. STONE FENCES IN THE FRONT.

the Mission church, and that a *Te Deum* was sung; but both are such unmitigated prevaricators that no reliance can be placed on anything they relate unless it is corroborated by other testimony, which in this case is absolutely lacking.[3]

On the other hand, another incident related by Alvarado may be accepted as true, inasmuch as it shows him up as anything but a loyal subject, and furthermore, demonstrates that but for Fr. Durán another civil war would have resulted. "The day after the conference with Fr. Durán," Alvarado writes in the *Historia* which he dictated to Bancroft's scribe, "I took leave of said Father and proceeded on my way to the town of Santa Barbara. There I was enthusiastically received. Seeing the enthusiasm, I conceived the plan of raising there an essentially California flag. With that end in view, I had a Mexican banner brought to my room. Across the white field of this flag I painted the letters *Independencia de California!* Then I sent for Lieutenant Piña and Sub-Lieutenant Benito Díaz. I said to them: 'One of you will bear this flag to Santa Barbara Mission. There you will deliver it to Fr. Durán in order that he may bless it in the church. The other of you will carry in his hand a sky-rocket. When the flag is blessed, he will fire the rocket, so that I may know that now we have a flag of our own. As soon as I see the flag, I shall call out all the troops and the people and shall proceed to meet you two, who, without a single moment's delay, will hasten at full gallop toward the town the instant Fr. Durán shall have blessed the flag.'

"Díaz and Piña showed themselves quite willing to go. Accompanied by a guard of honor, they reached the Mission in less than an hour. There Officer Piña solicited an interview with Fr. Durán. The two entered the room reserved for his Reverence, while Benito Díaz, rocket in hand, remained outside on a spot suitable for giving the signal when his companion should appear at the door of the church with

[3] See for particulars *The Missions and Missionaries*, iv, 60-64.

the flag unfurled. The interview with Fr. Durán did not last long; for his Reverence explained that, while no one in California surpassed him in patriotism, he feared to take a step that might compromise the future well-being of the friars of the Order in the entire dominion of the Mexican Republic. Officer Piña made some effort to induce Fr. Durán to change his mind; but he failed, for it is well known that, once the friars make up their mind, they do not change it at every gust of the wind. I felt sorely disappointed at seeing my project shattered. Yet I did not lose hope, later on, and under more favorable circumstances, to induce Fr. Durán to embrace my ideas. The refusal of Fr. Durán to second a project essentially my own was not known to the officers and the soldiers who came along in the expedition." However, on January 6, 1837, Alvarado had the satisfaction of seeing the Santa Barbara town council and the people generally take the oath of allegiance to the Alvarado government.[4]

"In 1837-1838," Bancroft writes, "the support of Alvarado's army was a heavy tax on the Mission resources; yet, as we have seen, these resources were by no means exhausted."[5] That is a rather heartless way of putting it. Bancroft seems tacitly to approve the looting of the Missions. Who had a right to exhaust the Mission resources? The Missions were private property, the declarations of the paisano chiefs to the contrary notwithstanding. It does not appear that Alvarado and his "general," José Castro, killed any cattle of settlers without permission or compensation. In March, 1838, Carrillo, the administrator of Mission Santa Barbara, complained that the troops were slaughtering cattle belonging to the Mission. In reply, he was told by the comandante that Castro had authorized the officers to kill all the cattle needed, without asking the permission of the administrator. Raymundo Carrillo must therefore be exon-

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[4] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 64-65.

[5] *California,* vol. iii, 658.

erated of any guilt, if under his charge the live stock decreased. He, like other officials, had but to obey orders from territorial government and its officials. Here follow some specimen orders from Alvarado himself and from one other. Some bear dates, others have no dates, but they all were written on the same kind of paper, and some bear the official seal of the governor. The originals are in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives. There is no evidence that for any of these orders payment was made to the Mission.

Here is one without date, which runs as follows: "Cota. Give to the wife of Navarro one beef (res). *Alvarado.*"

Another of paper with the official seal reads thus: "You

OFFICIAL STAMP OF THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT UNDER MEXICAN RULE.

may give to Ensign Espinosa one beef (Res). *Alvarado.* To the Señor Mayordomo of Santa Barbara."

Another order has this command: "Señor Administrator, Don Manuel Cota. May it please you to give to Captain Castañeda a beef (res) on account of the government. Santa Barbara, April 28, 1838. *Alvarado.*"

Another on paper with the official design in the upper left corner has this text: "To the Sr. Mayordomo of Mission Santa Barbara. To the Captain of the *Goleta Nacional,* Don Juan Cooper, you will deliver the necessary goods while he tarries at that point (harbor of Santa Barbara) where he must land under commission from this government. Monterey, August 3rd, 1840. *Alvarado.*"

Again Alvarado figures as commanding the administrator

of Mission Santa Barbara as follows: "Cota. You may give for Captain Villa a beef (una res).—*Alvarado.*"

Finally we have this order from the valiant "General" José Castro: "Señor Don Manuel Cota. My dear Sir. I answer for one beef (una res) which I hope you will deliver to the bearer of this. Santa Barbara, December 1st, 1838. Yours affectionately, *José Castro.*"

That was one way how the Missions were mulcted and impoverished. It was uniform with regard to all Missions under Alvarado's rule. The missionaries would have refused, and therefore they had to be ousted. Administrator Carrillo also had a hard time with the Indians on account of liquor dealers. In December, 1837, he reported that he had broken up a place where Manuel González sold liquor to the Indians; that there were other offenders of this kind who hinder the progress of the Mission; and that he wished the comandante to interfere.[6]

On January 19, 1839, well knowing that he could not trust any of his own clique to do something for the benefit of the oppressed Mission Indians, and to save his own reputation which had suffered during these years of looting, Alvarado appointed an Englishman, William E. P. Hartnell, inspector of the Missions. After becoming a Catholic, and a naturalized citizen of the territory, Hartnell married a daughter of José de la Guerra. He began his tour of inspection at San Diego, in May, 1839, and then visited the Missions on the road north. Everywhere he found destitution and discontent. Everywhere he experienced difficulty in accomplishing any lasting benefit for the poor Indians. The once prosperous missionary establishments were already largely ruined, and the majority of the neophytes had disappeared.

On July 8, the inspector arrived at Santa Barbara. No sooner did the Indians hear of his arrival than one of them, Antonio by name, approached him with numerous com-

[6] Bancroft, iii, 657.

plaints against the administrator. He closed his speech by saying: "Inasmuch as we are children of God, but not treated as Christians by this alcalde (he meant the administrator), we return to the pagans, because this alcalde does not want the people here to pray, neither in a body nor privately, and this we do not want to endure any longer."[7]

Next day Hartnell received a communication from Fr. Prefecto Durán which read as follows: "It is one o'clock, July 9 (1839). While we were taking the dessert at the meal, a great noise made us rise and go out into the corridor. There we saw the administrator acting like one possessed or rather like a demon. He was dragging an Indian by the hair of the head. For having tried to separate them, he (the administrator) insulted me with abusive language and treated me shamefully until he was tired. I am detaining two Indians who took refuge in my room. It will be necessary that Your Honor, on the receipt of this letter, hasten hither at once with three or four soldiers, in order to regulate this Mission which is very much terrified. I know nothing about the origin of the scandal; but I presume that it is because the Indians have complained to you about the administrator. I am expecting you.—Fr. Narciso Durán."

"I at once proceeded to the Mission," Hartnell reports to the governor, "but without soldiers. However, the military commander ordered Don Ignácio del Valle to get ready those that were armed, and to bring me aid in case I should call for it. I reproached Manuel Cota for his want of respect which he had committed against the Father; and as he immediately failed in like manner with regard to myself, not recognizing me as his superior and threatening me that he would go immediately to Monterey, I notified him that he was suspended from his position until further orders. I then entrusted the Mission temporarily to the alcaldes, but instructed them that in all important matters they were to

[7] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. viii, p. 8. Bancroft Collection. See also *Dep. St. Pap., Ben., Mem.,* pp. 147-172.

consult the Fr. Prefecto. This Father at once came to an agreement with the administrator and only begged him not to inflict any punishment on the two Indians who had taken refuge with him. This the administrator promised; but scarcely had he left the room than he sent an official notice, I do not know about what, to the sub-prefect and despatched the justice of the peace, Antonio Rodriguez, with two soldiers whom he had asked from the guardhouse without knowledge of the military commander, to take the two Indians prisoners. One concealed himself; but the other, Juan Pablo, whom the administrator had dragged by the hair, was taken to the guardhouse.

"The accounts of this administrator are in such a state of confusion and uncertainty that no clearness can be obtained. In everything he has proceeded with the most scandalous indifference, either out of the most crass stupidity or otherwise in bad faith.—Santa Barbara, July 10, 1839.—William Edward Hartnell."[8]

In a letter dated July 10, 1839, Hartnell named Fr. Durán director of the Mission, as is clear from the note written in reply, but not dated. "My friend Don William:—The Mission is in charge of the alcaldes, and I have explained to them that they were administrators; and since you have made me director, I shall comply with the duty, that is to say, I shall guide the duties which the administrators may present to me. The old times can no more return; and if I defend the Indians, it will be as minister of the Church, advocate of the poor, and not as administrator.—Fr. Narciso Durán."[9]

The insolent Manuel Cota must have had strong backing in Monterey; for, in reply to Hartnell's report of July 10, 1839, Alvarado's secretary, Manuel Jimeno, under date of July 18, wrote to the inspector that Manuel Cota would have to give him full satisfaction, but that thereupon said Cota

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8 *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. xi, pp. 449-451.

9 *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* xi, 919.

must be reinstated in his office. Hartnell received this strange communication at San Luis Obispo. Immediately, on July 27, he wrote to Governor Alvarado: "In answer to Your Excellency's official letter of the 18th instant, I have to say that Manuel Cota presented himself to me with all submission at Mission Purisima. He placed himself at my disposition and solicited that he be reinstated in the administration of Santa Barbara Mission. I replied that for the present he could by no means return to his charge; that instead he should rather put the accounts of the Mission in order and remit them to me; whereupon we would see. However, Your Excellency, I tell you plainly that it is in no way expedient to replace him in his old position, and this I am always ready to demonstrate whenever it may be necessary."[10] Valenzuela, the mayordomo, and Ponce de Leon, the clerk, were also dismissed.

In the same month, Hartnell reported that 246 neophytes still lived in the Mission and its vicinity; that the live stock consisted of 1,770 head of cattle, 2,250 sheep, 22 goats, 34 mules, and 609 horses of all grades, or a total of 4,685 head.

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[10] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. xi, 444-445.

CHAPTER XX.

Insatiable Soldiery. — Fr. Durán Amazed. — His Letter to Inspector Hartnell.—Greedy Officials.—Indian Village Uninhabitable.—Neophytes Wake Up to Think for Themselves.—Another Letter of Fr. Durán to Hartnell. — Indians Improving and Content. — Proposes Dividing the Property Among the Neophytes.

MEANWHILE, the soldiers of the presidio continued as insatiable as ever, and expected the neophytes to furnish the supplies as before without compensation. This, with much other information, may be gathered from a letter which Fr. Durán addressed to Inspector Hartnell two months after the latter's departure. The Comisário Prefecto writes:

"I have the honor of communicating to you for your gratification that these neophytes, in matters domestic, economical, moral, and religious, continue in the same good order and contentment. Only I myself am not very much satisfied to manage, not indeed on account of the Indians, but on account of those who are not Indians. We scarcely begin to breathe, and already short notes make their appearance asking for *manteca*, tallow from which to make candles to light up the barracks, and shoes.

"Only they say nothing about seed grain, because they must be aware that only 14 fanégas of barley and 210 fanégas of wheat have been harvested, which is not sufficient even for planting; and, as it is at present impossible to give anything, they already go about threatening that it will be necessary to appoint an administrator, as if those señores could promise better prospects, or as if I were wedded to the management like those who seek control. Were it not for the welfare of the poor Indians, I should never have accepted it. *Manteca* (tallow drippings) can be supplied to the amount of 8 or 10 *arróbas* (200 or 250 lbs.), and also some pairs of shoes; but that they have the courage to ask for a butt of tallow when it is so scarce!—for the

8 beeves which are slaughtered every week are nearly all bulls and steers that have gone wild, whilst the horses have but little strength left and yield no fat whatever. We are sparing the few cattle in the pasture (where they are being taught the A B C of rodéos) for the winter, when the horses can not rove about the mountains. Furthermore, that the Just Man of Santa Barbara (José de la Guerra) should enter to enjoy the fruits, and that he should lend his influence to take away from these poor Indians ten or twelve shirts which he could acquire with the butt demanded, not considering that in this his conscience might be grievously compromised; such pretension, I say, is beyond my comprehension and I consider it very ill-advised.

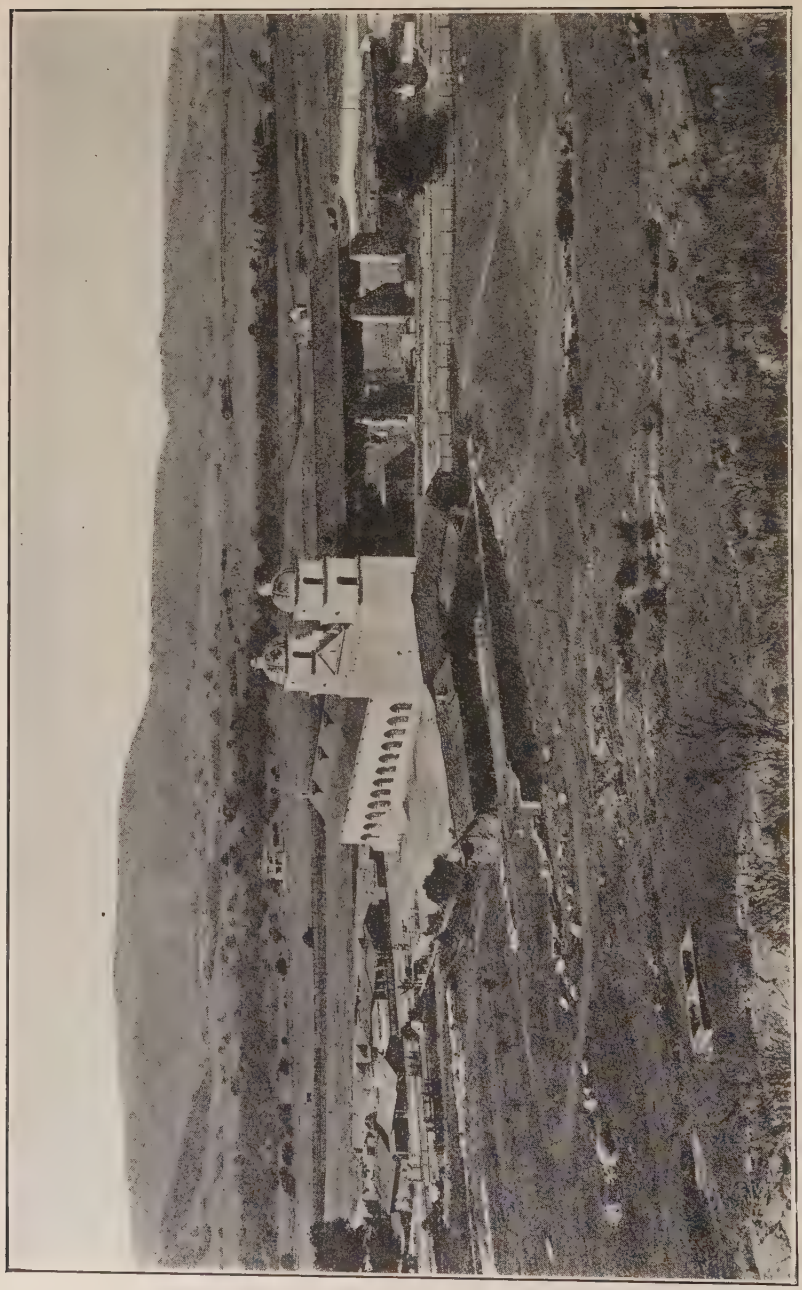
"I insist that annually an estimate be made regarding the supplies to be furnished by the Mission, and once admitted as arranged, according to its income, it will be the endeavor to comply with it scrupulously; but this, being like the sea, which never says enough, though it swallows up all the rivers, can not be. Hence it is necessary that you, in virtue of your position and with the practical knowledge you possess, come to an agreement with the government as to what should appear just, bearing in mind that under administrators there will be less to supply, because it is already known that owing to their method, graces, miracles, wages, clean hands, etc., there will not be enough for themselves.

"They said Cota has spread around here that he is still administrator; that he has only been suspended; but (be it noted) the salary continues, as four days ago his wife sent to me for a fanéga of wheat and *to charge it to her husband*. I replied with a sardonic smile. I communicate this for your information. His house, as far as the adobe part, is already finished. Now they are adding the kitchen. With the exception of making the adobes, which seem to have been made by people of the town below, the rest has been done by our neophytes for the sake of peace and at your recommendation.

"I almost forgot to tell you that the neophyte corporal of

this Mission had a salary assigned to him, I know not whether by the administrator or by the government. The truth is that, as payment for his wages (as he says) he has taken many of the best horses of the Mission, although it has not even one of medium service. It is supposed that the administrators have done the same and better still. As the alcalde says, it was at the branding this year, that is to say, after the prohibition contained in the last Reglamento, that they have taken all this. I shall verify this better some other day. For the present, I say only that said Vicente has been removed from the corporalship at the request of the alcaldes, because he is useless and refuses to work; in fact, he has been useful only for spoiling the horses and the cattle, watching them only after his own fashion, while the administrators, Cota and Valenzuela, placing their entire confidence in him, spent the day riding about, etc. To me it has always seemed one of the greatest absurdities that a member of the Indian community, a son of the Indian family, who labors no more than the other cowboys, should have a salary and the others not. Only outsiders and those who labor for others should have wages, when once it has been so agreed by the legitimate masters; but that these subject to the community or Indian family, whose labor is and must be for themselves, should have wages, seems to me the greatest nonsense, and a wrong done to the whole community.

"Likewise, I also forgot to say, that, considering the many deaths among our Indians here, owing to the pestiferous miasmas in the ranchería, the alcaldes have proposed to abandon it and to erect a new one of straw like those of the gentiles, in front or in the rear of the plaza; but they fear that the white people will take possession of the abandoned houses, either to establish themselves there or to profit by the tiles. They have proposed to sell them gradually for hides, not for money. With regard to the tiles, that proceeding does not appear to me unwise; but Your Honor will please tell me your opinion for my security.



MISSION SANTA BARBARA AND COUNTRY TO THE WEST. PART OF INDIAN VILLAGE TO THE LEFT.

"If perchance a settlement is to be made of the accounts with Cota, it will be necessary to demand an explanation of the use of last year's wheat crop; for the Indians say that they have received nothing or nearly nothing. Don Raymundo Carrillo likewise has a deficit of $300 in wheat, of which it is not known whither it went, for the Indians have enjoyed nothing of it. There were harvested 500 fanégas, and 200 were used up by the late administrator and for future sowing. *Reliquae trecentae ubi sunt?* If his accounts have not yet passed into *Rem Judicatam*, then let him be called to an account for it.

"Likewise, the cowboys have assured me that his assistant, Don Carlos Castro, when counting the cattle of this Mission, included his own and those of others and that, in consequence, the account is not exact. He should make restitution of what he has received, because he did not comply well with his duty. Who knows whether he may not have done the same with the horses. I see that I alone am not short-sighted. I inform Your Honor that five or six days ago, the Indians of their own accord held nocturnal meetings in order to deliberate what they should do in case another administrator were assigned to them. The result was that they decided to resist with supplications and written petitions to the government, and that they have hopes of getting a just hearing; but if one should be imposed on them by force, they will scatter like those in the town below. Thus the alcaldes themselves have informed me. Hence it will be well to keep our eyes open.

"Every day I desire more to leave this country. With one of the next mails I shall demand my passport for Mexico. For any place outside the republic I have my passport some years. Now that your countrymen and friends, Messrs. Wilson and Scott, are going, the desire and temptation to make use of my passport increases, and only responsibility detains me, I mean responsibility to God. Nevertheless, if the vexations should reach a higher point, I do not answer for myself, and therefore I will request

my passport for the interior (Mexico). My office binds me, but I can conclude the term at the College. Continually I beseech God to grant me the grace of dying among these California Indians. Be it understood, I have the will, but the flesh is weak.—Fr. Narciso Durán."[1]

On October 25, 1839, six weeks after making his last report to Inspector Hartnell, Fr. Durán again addressed the inspector in a more hopeful tone. "The Indians here," he could write, "continue in the same order as in July—very punctual in everything, at prayers, holy Mass, as also at work, which latter, we see to it, is moderate. With the exception of four or five cases, the drunkards have disappeared, and there is no more of that public and scandalous profanation that was habitual and almost universal on Holy Days. From the frigate *Monzon,* $500 worth of Indian blankets and cloth were purchased, and on the following Sunday all was distributed, all men receiving a shirt and the women a petticoat, at least those who labored. In the end, the Indians saw that not as much as one *reál* was used in a wrong way. They have all the keys, but I intend in time to keep the key to the wine cellar. Nothing is sold unless they are present and know for what it is invested. The purchases from the ship was transacted through Fr. Antonio Jimeno, two alcaldes being present who delivered the produce and received the goods. Finally, I will continue the management solely for the benefit of these poor creatures, and for myself I will take no account whatever.[2]

"So far seven huts have been erected, but as yet they are not occupied. For hides the tiles of the large garden have been sold, and instead it has been hedged with branches and earth. The reason was, because the Indians and such as are not Indians would steal the tiles during the night

[1] *Cal. Arch., Papeles Originales, Missions,* vol. ii, pp. 939-942. Banc. Coll.

[2] The Indians must have felt happy, and the difference between missionary rule and hired administrator rule must have impressed them forcibly.

and take them to the presidio. The houses of the ranchería have as yet not been unroofed, with the exception of one not inhabited; and I think no more will be unroofed. The Indians, it seems, are more inclined to repair the old ones, i. e., to plaster and whitewash them and to occupy them again. No compulsion is practiced on them, and they are permitted to work as they please.

"Let us now turn to the subject of the licensed Indians. There were five who had the written permit from the government to live by themselves. Some are obliged to assist in the labor of the Mission when they are needed. Others have no such obligation. The Mission is without blacksmiths and without carpenters, and hence can not subsist without the necessary hands. I reminded those concerned personally, and they agreed to return so long as there is no administrator. Only the blacksmith is missing, who has his papers from the time of Nicolás Gutiérrez, and lives in the house of Captain Noriega; wherefore I dare not say anything to him, because, as far as knowing how to make a living for himself, there is no one who does not know how to make a living, be he a day laborer, a farm hand, doing chores, a fisher, etc. On the other hand, if the most capable go away, leaving the Mission with only children, old people, and the infirm, etc., who will sustain this community, divine worship, and the priests? Who will make the yokes, the wood work for saddles, ploughs, carts, and do the work of the carpenter? Who will make the bridles, spurs, points of the ploughs, and the other works of the smith?

"It would be better to set these communities free, leaving something for divine worship and the missionary, and to divide among the individuals the remaining property of the community. What merit has a smith, a carpenter, that he should be free, which merit others have not? If one knows how to work the iron or the wood, the others know other things; and certainly, no one will die of hunger, because the field and the sea has the table always set for them.

May Your Honor reflect on the anomaly of wanting to maintain these communities, and at the same time taking from them the hands that sustain them; and may you not fail to bring it to the mind of the government in due time. Santa Barbara, October 25, 1839.—Fr. Narciso Durán." [3]

[3] *Archivo de Misiones, Papelas Originales,* vol. ii, pp. 951-954. Banc. Coll.

CHAPTER XXI.

Fr. Durán Complains to Hartnell.—Wants His Passport.—Requests Appointment of a Mayordomo.—Leandro Appointed.—Statistical.—Fr. Durán Very Ill.—Results of Missionary Activity.—Demands from the Presidio Continue.—Bishop Appointed for California.—Is Joyfully Received at Santa Barbara.—Citizens Urge Him to Establish His Residence at Santa Barbara. — Consents. — Notifies the Governor.

ON JANUARY 10, 1840, Fr. Durán reported to Hartnell: "Many times I wanted to speak to you on a subject peculiar to this ranchería, but I always forgot. Now I take up the pen expressly on that point. It concerns Manuel González, who is living on this ranchería and has steadily eluded every effort made to have him betake himself to the presidio. He is a Mexican *presidiário* (military convict), who married a neophyte of this Mission with the express and accepted condition that the Indian woman was to leave the Mission. In the time of Don Raymundo (Carrillo) the execution of this condition was solicited, but in vain. The same was done in the time of Cota, but also in vain. He has many times promised me to fulfil it, but he has never fulfilled it. It is true, he has improved as far as selling aguardiente during the day is concerned; but at night the Indians intoxicate themselves to their heart's content, because they know that we can not watch them at such hours. Likewise, in a few days they began to steal horses, to force open the wine cellar, and to break into the house of the girls. Although he does not appear guilty of these particular cases, the presumption is against him, for *semel malus semper presumitur malus,* etc. Inasmuch as he is a *presidiário,* and therefore subject to military authority, I have sought to oblige him to leave the Mission, but I have met with nothing but indifference. Hence a blow from authority

seems to me necessary to rid us of him. I should esteem it a favor if you would do what is possible, in order that he be forced to go to the presidio where he has a house of his own.

"Another matter, which touches me personally. During the temporary government of Don Manuel Jimeno, I asked for my passport to Mexico; but he replied that this was one of the rights which were reserved to Sr. Alvarado. I am persuaded that, unless the affair is agitated by myself, it will be left to sleep or be forgotten altogether. I feel the desire and the necessity of it more every day. I am almost unable to attend to the parochial charge of the neighboring settlement (presidio). At present I am convalescing very slowly and my debility, corporal as well as intellectual, is in *statu quo*. I recommend this matter to Your Honor, and I hope you will be pleased to serve as agent in the case."[1]

In a letter of January 7, 1840, Fr. Durán writes: "This Mission is without a white mayordomo, because Leandro, since he has a rancho of his own in the Santa Clara Valley, can not continue."[2]

Six weeks later, after an illness, under date of February 15, 1840, Fr. Durán informed Hartnell that he was unable to oversee the temporal affairs of the Mission personally. "Let a mayordomo be placed here as soon as possible," he wrote, "because the Mission is at the will of the Indians. It is certain that they are doing well; but they are always poor Indians, and I am not for being harsh with them. The one upon whom we have turned our eyes is Leandro. He appears to us the best man for this place, intelligent for the welfare of the Mission. I only fear that he will not consent, as he has a rancho. This was the reason he previously resigned the position of mayordomo. . . . What I think about least is food, because I need little; but other Fathers may be troubled on that score, especially where they have

[1] *Pap. Orig., Mis., vol. ii,* pp. 1,005-1,006.

[2] Ibidem, pp. 997-1,000.

not agreed well with the administrators, as for example at San Luis Rey."[3]

Leandro was accordingly appointed, as appears from a letter written by Fr. Durán on May 4, 1840, in which he says: "According to what Mayordomo Leandro told me, the branding of the cattle, which was done this year,

SANTA BARBARA MISSION CATTLE BRAND.

included 170 head and with the few that were missing there may be 200 head. According to this, the Mission possesses about 600 head. Generally, since the time of Don Raymundo till now, the tannery is blamed; likewise, in the past year, when your man counted the cattle, he counted those of the presidio, which are mostly staying on land of the Mission. As these poor Indians having nothing to eat but meat, it is necessary to think of succoring them, at least with 600 head

[3] *Papel. Orig.*, ii, pp. 1,017-1,020. For details the reader is referred to the volume on Mission San Luis Rey.

from Santa Inés, in return for loaning it cowboys and horses, so that it could brand its cattle."[4]

It is clear why Fr. Durán wanted an intelligent and unselfish overseer appointed. Left to themselves, the neophytes as yet would not attend to the property with solicitude. If a missionary was always with them, they labored well, as they saw him do so; but without this good example, the best of them could not be trusted for sufficient energy. A letter addressed to Hartnell by Fr. Durán on March 5, 1840, which probably hastened the appointment of Leandro, makes it evident that the Indians had lacked a leader. He wrote: "I have established myself at this presidio in the house of Señor José Antonio Aguirre, to whom after God I owe what health I enjoy. Yes, Señor, at the Mission I should have rapidly gone to the graveyard, had not Aguirre taken me away almost by force. This was the reason why I so much insisted on my passport to Mexico. Now I have forgotten it and expect to die in this community, always provided God so wills. I was very ill and I have not yet entirely recovered, for I have scarcely enough strength to hold the pen."[5]

As Comisary Prefect of the Missions, Fr. Durán had to help his brethren at the other Missions bear their burden, and that naturally weighed on his mind; for the mental and bodily sufferings of some of them, notably at San Luis Rey under Pio Pico, made his heart ache and his blood boil. As Fr. Antonio attended to the spiritual needs of the neophytes, Fr. Durán, on Sundays and Holydays of obligation, would celebrate holy Mass and preach at the presidio chapel; but, being a musician, Fr. Durán also instructed capable Indians in singing and in instrumental music. The results of Fr. Antonio's labors will be noted when surveying the various Mission Registers. The tabular reports also will tell what it must have cost him and his

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[4] Ibidem, p. 1,051.

[5] *Papel. Orig.*, ii, p. 1,051.

predecessors to instruct the converts and maintain the neophytes in the observance of their Christian duties.

Meanwhile demands from the presidio to the Mission for supplies went on merrily and prevented the Mission from advancing in temporal matters, because for the supplies the Mission received nothing. The following receipt is a specimen. "I have received from the mayordomo of the Mission of Santa Barbara to the account of the *habilitacion* (a sort of quartermaster's office for the troops) in my charge ten fanégas (1,000 pounds) of corn at one dollar and seventy-five cents a fanéga, four fanégas of beans at three dollars a fanéga, twenty-five pairs of shoes at one dollar and fifty cents, and ten dollars' worth of soap, which four quantities together make seventy-nine dollars. For the security of persons interested I issue this at Santa Barbara on November 19, 1840.—Ignácio del Valle." Unfortunately a receipt like this in those days amounted to nothing more than a worthless scrap of paper. Nothing was realized on it.[6]

An event of the highest importance for the territory, and for Santa Barbara in particular, was the appointment of a Bishop for California, which heretofore had been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sonora, Mexico. At the request of Don Anastásio Bustamante, President of the Mexican Republic, Pope Gregory XVI, on April 27, 1840, established the Diocese of Both Californias, i. e., Upper and Lower California. On the same date His Holiness appointed as first Bishop of the new See the nominee of the Mexican President, the Very Rev. Francisco García Diego y Moreno, O. F. M., who from 1833-1835 had been stationed at Mission Santa Clara. The Pope assigned the town of San Diego as the headquarters of the diocese, because it was centrally located between Upper and Lower California. Bishop García Diego landed at San Diego on December 11, 1841, from the ship *Rosalind*. After he had examined the situation at Old Town, then San Diego, he was convinced that

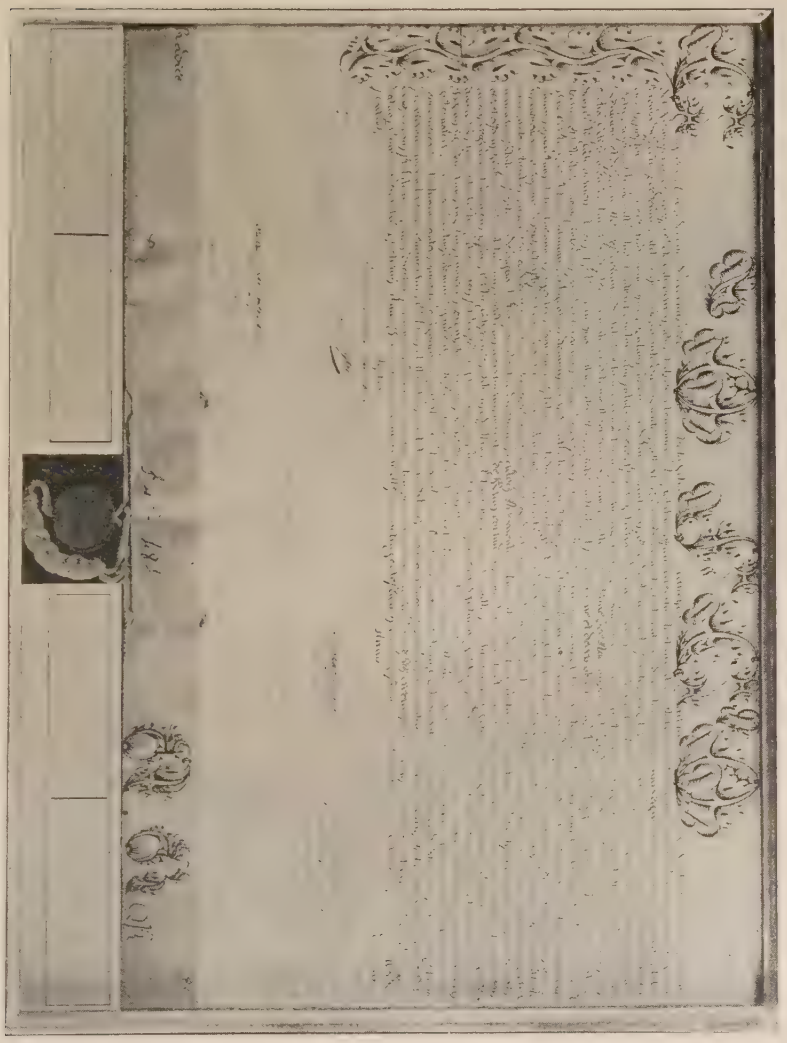
6 *Papeles Originales*, ii, p. 967.

the place with its less than one hundred and fifty inhabitants, wretched dwellings, etc., would not be suitable for the episcopal seat of the vast diocese that extended from Cape San Lucas to beyond Santa Rosa, north of San Francisco Bay.

"For a great length of time," says Robinson, "the Californians had been in anxious expectation of the coming of a Bishop, who had been appointed for their diocese by his Holiness, the Pope. At length a courier arrived from San Diego, on the 16th of December, 1841, announcing the fact of his having disembarked at that place. . . . The news was received with the most enthusiastic expressions of joy by the inhabitants of Santa Barbara. Guns were fired and sky-rockets let off in every direction. At the Mission the bells rang a merry peal, and the music of the band was heard at intervals, as its harmonious sounds floated through the air.

"Several days subsequent to this demonstration of joy, we had an exhibition of the *Pastores* by the Indians of the Mission. They had been practicing for some time under the direction of Padre Antonio Jimeno, and a great triumph was therefore anticipated over the performances of the *gente de razon.* This exhibition took place on Sunday afternoon in the courtyard of Señor Noriega (De la Guerra), where four or five hundred persons were collected to enjoy the amusement. Their performances were pronounced excellent, and I think they far surpassed those of the whites, which I had witnessed some years previous, at San Diego. At the conclusion of the *Pastores,* a celebrated juggler came forward, and amused us half an hour with some expert and wonderful tricks of legerdemain.

"When it became known that the Bishop desired to establish his residence at a more favorable town on the coast, the people of Santa Barbara resolved to secure the honor of the Bishop's permanent presence among them. A month after his arrival at poor San Diego, he sailed in the *Guipuzcoana,* a vessel belonging to José Antonio Aguirre,



FACSIMILE OF BULL OF POPE GREGORY XVI APPOINTING FR. GARCIA DIEGO BISHOP OF CALIFORNIA. REDUCED TO ONE-FIFTH OF THE ORIGINAL.

who, with his bride, was himself moving to Santa Barbara, and placed the ship at the service of the Prelate. The *Guipuzcoana* was sighted at Santa Barbara on January 11, 1842, but lay becalmed and rolling on the ocean's swell. A boat put off from her side, and approached the landing-place. One of the attendants of his Excellency, who came in it, repaired to the Mission, to communicate with the Father Presidente. All was bustle; men, women, and children hastening to the beach, banners flying, drums beating, and soldiers marching. The whole population of the place turned out to pay homage to this first Bishop of California. At eleven o'clock the vessel anchored. He came on shore, and was welcomed by the kneeling multitude. All received his benediction—all kissed the pontifical ring. The troops and the civic authorities then escorted him to the house of Don José Antonio, where he dined. A carriage had been prepared for his Excellency, which was accompanied by several others, occupied by the Presidente, Fr. Durán, and his friends. The females had formed, with ornamental canes, beautiful arches, through which the procession passed; and as it marched along, the heavy artillery of the presidio continued to thunder forth its noisy welcome. At the same time he left the barque she was enveloped in smoke, and the distant report of her guns was heard echoing among the hills in our rear.

"The bride, with her mother and sisters, remained on board till afternoon, when they also repaired to the festive scene.

"At four o'clock, the Bishop was escorted to the Mission, and when a short distance from the town, the enthusiastic inhabitants took the horses from his carriage, and dragged it themselves. Halting at a small bower on the road he alighted, went into it, and put on his pontifical robes; then resuming his place in the carriage, he continued on, amidst the sound of music and the firing of guns, till he arrived at the church, where he addressed the multitude that followed."

The Bishop's attendants or company, who came with him from Mexico, were Fr. Miguel Muro, Fr. Francisco Sánchez, the sub-deacon Miguel Gómez, the students Antonio Jiménez del Récio, José Maria Rosáles, and Doroteo Ambris, two boys named Agapito Cabrera and Gervásio Valadez, Alejo Salmon, a tailor by trade, a gardener named Leandro Martínez, the Bishop's niece Doña Josefita González y Diego, and her elderly companion Doña Soledad.

In a memorial, dated April 15, 1842, one hundred and twenty-three prominent citizens of Santa Barbara petitioned the Bishop to make the place his permanent residence. Among the signers were the following gentlemen of foreign birth: John C. Jones, John Wilson, Alfred Robinson, Robert Pard, Edward Stokes, Joseph Snook, Henry Nellus, William Dana, Joseph Chapman, John Robins, James Scott, Louis Burton, Stephen Ardison, Nicholas A. Den, Samuel Hill, Thomas Sparks, W. E. P. Hartnell.[7]

On April 30, the Bishop returned an appropriate reply, and a similar one to the presidio commander and the Indian alcaldes.[8]

"Santa Barbara," Robinson continues, "was selected to be the Episcopal See; and plans were drawn up for the erection of his Palace, a Cathedral, a Monastery, and a Theological School. The inhabitants were called upon to unite in forwarding these plans, and the Bishop trusted for the resources to the *Fondo Piadoso de California—Pious Fund of California*—in Mexico, for their accomplishment. Large piles of stones were heaped up in several places for laying the foundations of the above-mentioned edifices; but, as the Mexican Government has seen proper to appropriate this fund to less pious purposes, there they will undoubtedly remain, for some years, as monuments of the frailty of human speculations."[9]

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7 *De la Guerra Papers*, vol. ii, p. 193. Banc. Coll.

8 *Libro Borador.*

9 *Life in California*, pp. 201-204, passim.

RT. REV. BISHOP FRANCISCO GARCÍA DIEGO Y MORENO SOLEMNLY RECEIVED AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE MISSION CHURCH OF SANTA BARBARA.

On April 25, 1842, the Bishop wrote to Governor Alvarado, and by way of explanation, said: "Although our Holy Father Gregory XVI, in his Bull erecting the See of Both Californias, thought proper to direct me to establish my episcopal seat, build my cathedral, and locate my residence at San Diego, as the center of the diocese, I have seen with the deepest pain, when I reached that point, that it is daily exposed to incursions from savages; that its population, instead of promising some growth, is already on the point of dying out; that its resources are insignificant or rather amount to almost nothing; and finally, that there is no probability of its return to prosperity. . . . The neophytes of this Mission, headed by their alcaldes, beg me not to abandon them, and I am thinking of remaining in their midst and offering myself for their welfare. The garrison of this place, with their officers and commander, have manifested no less devotion. The whole population of the neighboring presidio town in two distinct memorials have employed all their eloquence and persuasion to interest me in their favor by showing the advantage and necessity of staying here."

The Bishop also told the governor that, not counting the extreme southern part of the diocese in Lower California, which was but a horrible desert, Santa Barbara was really more centrally located than San Diego. . . . "Moved by these powerful motives," the Bishop then continued, "and by others which for the sake of brevity I omit, I have come to the conclusion to stay here and to fix my episcopal residence at this church of Santa Barbara. Meanwhile I shall report the situation to our Most Holy Father, the Pope. I am convinced that Your Honor will gladly approve this resolution. In view of the said facts, and for the reason that I can not build my cathedral, the seminary, and my residence in so short a time as I wish, I am compelled to ask Your Excellency for the favor of issuing the necessary orders so that I may not be molested while I am a guest at this house (Old Mission); but rather that

I be allowed all that part of the building which I may choose for my habitation, for the Rev. Fathers, for my domestics, and for some boys, who may be admitted to receive instructions in ecclesiastical sciences."[10]

[10] *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 233-235.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Bishop at the Mission.—Replies to Alvarado.—His Quarters.—Rooms of the Fathers.—Roof Raised.—First Religious Community.—Duflot de Mofras's Description of Town and Mission.—Fr. Durán on the Propagation of the Faith.—Simpson on Santa Barbara.—Captain De la Guerra Retired.—Mission Remnant Restored.—Hartnell's Report.

IT HAS already been noted that the vexations to which Fr. Comisário Prefecto and Fr. Antonio Jimeno were subjected at the Mission, during the rule of the administrators, had caused the venerable missionary to ask for his passport to Mexico. Such indignities could not, of course, be practiced on the head of the new diocese, least of all in the present temper of the Barbareños. There is no telling, however, what a Manuel Cota might not in the end have been capable of. Fortunately, at the request of Fr. Durán, as we have seen, Leandro González was appointed administrator. He possessed a ranch of his own and seems to have left his family there. At all events, when the Bishop decided to reside at the Mission, all the apartments required by him, his priests, and his students, were immediately vacated. Nevertheless, the Bishop thought it well to ask for an authoritative assignment of the desired quarters, which he did in a letter addressed to Governor Alvarado on May 6, 1842, and which reads as follows:

"On the fifth of the present month I had the honor of receiving Your Excellency's official note of April 29, last, in which you have the goodness to manifest to me the very good dispositions which aid you in serving, as far as possible, my previous solicitude, and conceding that at this Mission be turned over to me the rooms necessary for the lodging of myself and official family; and only requesting me that I select the said rooms and indicate the kind of aids which I need so that you might issue the requisite

orders. To all this I reply to Your Excellency by saying: That my pretensions confine themselves to the wish that I may not be incommoded about the rooms which I now occupy. They are the very few situated between the church and the habitation of the Rev. Missionary Fathers. However, although I included them in the part of the building which in my previous note I said ought to be assigned for my apartments, it was only that I wished that the said Rev. Fathers be not deprived of any room which they have occupied till now, while I remain here only as a guest. If the part of the wall that the Fathers have erected in the principal *patio* be lengthened to the wall of the sacristy, the said *patio* would be divided into three portions, one destined for the mayordomo, the other for the Fathers, and the third for my official family.

"The only assistance desired reduces itself to this that the mayordomo here supply the neophytes and the material sufficient to continue to the sacristy the said portion of wall which the Rev. Missionary Fathers have in the *patio,* and that within this fraction of *patio* corresponding to my habitation be constructed a kitchen, a pantry, and other similar rooms; that of the rooms which I now occupy some be whitewashed, and that, if necessary, the doors and windows of the others be changed. While this is being done, I oblige myself to provide the food, and to see that the said neophytes be paid for their labor.

"Your Excellency, I never believed that I should have to descend to such minute description; but Your Excellency has judged it opportune, and I have not hesitated a moment to please you; only I feel the littleness of the matter, while I desire occasions for a more lofty consideration to serve your will.—May 6, 1842. —Fr. Francisco, Obispo de las Californias."[1]

From the Bishop's own specifications we can with certainty point out the rooms which he occupied at the Mission

[1] *Libro Borador.*

of Santa Barbara until the day of his death; for he possessed no other residence in California. The conclusion agrees with what we had learned from Mrs. Oreña, a daughter of Captain José de la Guerra, who had known the first Bishop quite well. The apartments set aside for the Bishop were the two last rooms but one on the front corridor next to the tower. From the last room a wide door opens on the corridor, and this served probably for the office and private reception room, while the apartment adjoining was the bed room. The latter had only a window opening on the corridor. The rooms along the front corridor to the reception room to the right of the main entrance, exclusive were most probably occupied by Fr. González Rúbio, the Bishop's secretary, and Fr. Francisco Sánchez. In the rear of these apartments, with doors and windows on the *patio,* were doubtless the community dining room and the private quarters of the students. Fr. Comisário Prefecto Narciso Durán occupied the room in the rear of the reception room, to which the main entrance leads. It had a window opening on the inner court or *patio.* Fr. Antonio Jimeno occupied two rooms at the end of the front wing with doors and windows on the corridor. There was no second floor at the time.

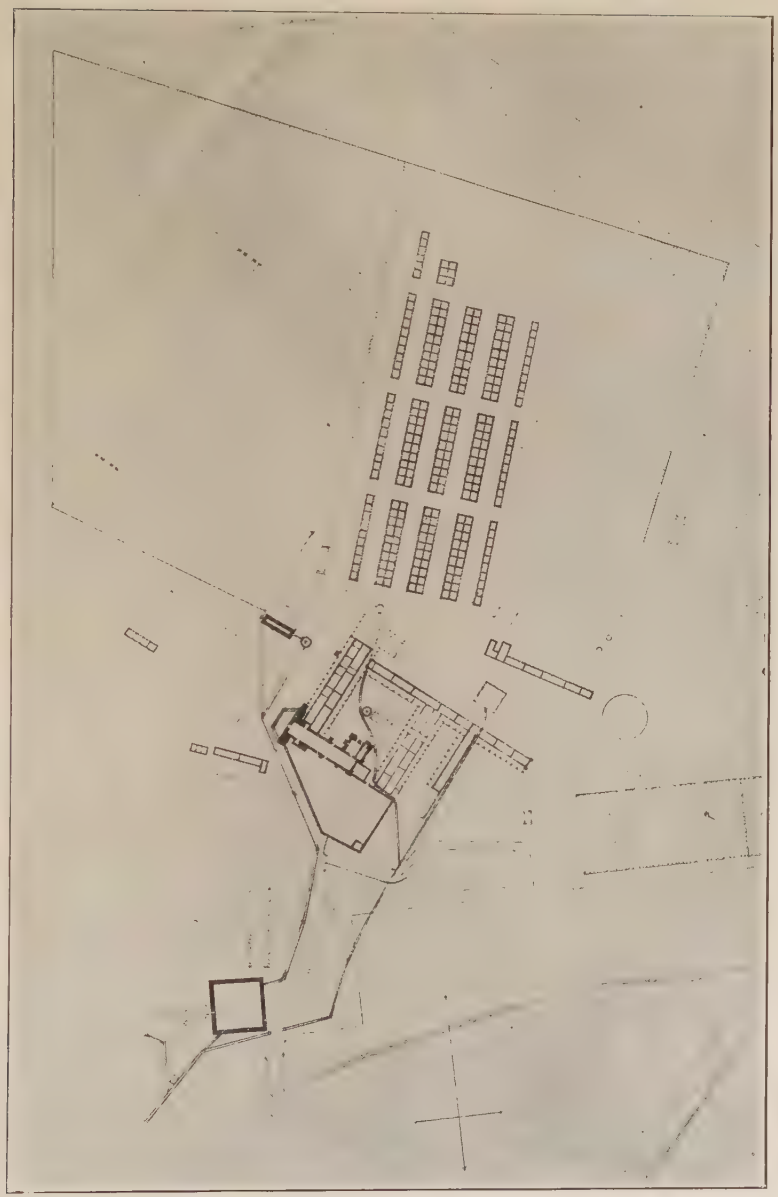
In March, 1842, therefore, the first religious community was established in the Mission, and it is quite likely, judging from the custom of the Franciscans the world over, that the Divine Office was chanted in common in the choir loft.

In 1841, six months before the arrival of the first Bishop, a report notes that the town of Santa Barbara contained 262 men between the ages of 18 and 60 years.

The celebrated French traveler, Eugene Duflot de Mofras, visited Santa Barbara in the fall of 1841. He describes the condition of the military fort as follows: "The presidio, with the pueblo around it, is about a mile from the ocean beach. The presidio is now a ruin, only a few portions of the mud wall still remain. The former moat is filled in. The chapel alone is preserved.

"The pueblo of Santa Barbara consists of about a hundred houses fairly well built. The white population amounts to eight hundred individuals. The majority of the inhabitants are farmers, but the trade is entirely monopolized by foreigners. Englishmen are present in larger numbers than Americans. Of the two Frenchmen that live here, one is farming, and the other, Mr. Ardisson, has a pretty extensive trade. The governing authority of Santa Barbara lies in the hands of only a sub-prefect and an alcalde or justice of the peace. There are still in evidence some bronze pieces of ordnance, and a garrison of fifteen soldiers under five officers. By reason of its geographical position, this pueblo plays an important part in the affairs of the province. It holds the balance between Monterey and Los Angeles, and has always controlled revolutionary movements. In the pueblo of Santa Barbara there remain as yet some traces of the good principles of religion, and of order of the old royal administration. This result depends on the presence of three Spaniards, who possess a great influence throughout California, the Rev. Fr. Narciso Durán, Presidente and Prefect-Apostolic of the Missions of the South, Don José Noriega (De la Guerra), the old Captain of the presidio, and Don Antonio Aguirre, the richest wholesale merchant of the country, with whom nearly all the inhabitants have some business relations. These three personages, who are most intimate friends of one another, are the leaders of what is called the Spanish Party.

"The Mission of Santa Barbara, which was founded December 4th, 1786, is situated about one league from the ocean, and about two kilometers from the pueblo, at the foot of a range of barren mountains that shelter it from the east and from the north winds. Its construction is strictly plain and regular. Its arcade or corridor, and the church with its two sightly towers, are built of dressed stone. The gardens and orchards are rather extensive and well irrigated. On the Mission plaza plays a large fountain, which is fed with water that is conducted from the mountains, and is



THE NEOPHYTE VILLAGE, THE MISSION GROUNDS, AND RESERVOIR.

made to operate a fair-sized mill. Deposits of lime-yielding sea-shells are found in the mountains, and they are drawn upon when there is a demand for such material.

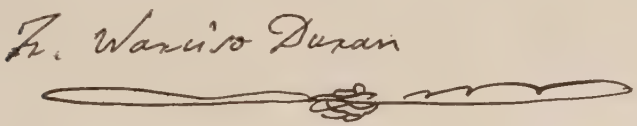
"Locked in between the sea-shore and the mountains, this Mission owns no great extent of lands suitable for cultivation, and, accordingly, it did not produce very large crops, nor extraordinary large herds. Nevertheless, in 1834 it counted 1,200 Indians, and had 5,000 head of cattle, 200 horses, 5,000 sheep, and it harvested 3,000 fanégas of grain. Now there are left no more than 400 Indians, 1,800 cattle, 160 horses, and 400 sheep."

Although not so excessively exaggerated as in the case of other Missions, the figures presented by Mofras are far beyond the truth. In 1834 there were at the Mission 556 neophyte Indians, who, being the true owners under the supervision of the Fathers, possessed in common 3,400 cattle, 2,614 sheep, 80 head of small stock, 340 horses, and 70 mules. The harvest of all kinds of grain and beans amounted to 2,473 fanégas, or about 4,120 bushels.

In 1822, in France was established the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in foreign countries. Since its existence it has effected incalculable good by founding and maintaining missions among nearly all the pagan nations of the globe. While Mofras tarried at Santa Barbara, he learned that the Comisário Prefecto of the Fernandinos Franciscans, Fr. Narciso Durán, interested himself in the work of the Society. His narrative concerns Santa Barbara very much, wherefore we reproduce it entire.

As was his custom, Fr. Durán held Sunday service and preached at the presidio chapel on September 5th, 1841. Mofras describes what happened as follows: "The Fr. Presidente (Durán) preached a sermon, and sent it (next day, September 6, as the document is dated in the Mission Archives) as a Pastoral Letter to be read in all the churches under his jurisdiction. Therein he urged the faithful to establish among themselves the Work of the Propagation

of the Faith and to contribute annually one dollar. Within a few days he received at Santa Barbara alone $300, and since the beginning of the last year he collected a similar amount, which Don Antonio Aguirre sent to the treasurer of the Society at Lyon, France. Thus within the space of twelve months the town of Santa Barbara, of which even the name is unknown in Europe, transmitted to France for the work of the Propagation the sum of 6,000 francs. This little town has hardly eight hundred inhabitants. How many towns in France with a population of more than eight thousand are far from raising a similar voluntary contribution every year! Is there a more touching spectacle than that of these Spanish Religious who, whilst they day after day see the Missions which they had built collapsing, send



from such a distance their mite to France in order to help her to erect new ones?

"The Pastoral Letter of the Commissary Prefect, after setting forth the general plan of the Society, concludes as follows: 'Yes, my brethren, who of us could ever have believed that the same France, which fifty years ago, in the delirium of her godless and revolutionary fever, proscribed every kind of worship, should merit to be chosen by Divine Providence as an instrument to extend the holy Catholic Church among all nations?' . . .

"I hope that God will bless this work, which is altogether His own, and that it may bring forth rich fruit for His honor and glory."[2]

In 1842, Sir George Simpson described the town as follows: "Santa Barbara is somewhat larger than Monterey,

[2] *Mofras, Explorations,* vol. i, 372-374.

containing about 900 inhabitants, while the one is just as much a maze without a plan as the other. Here, however, anything of the nature of a resemblance ends, Santa Barbara in most respects being to Monterey what the parlor is to the kitchen. Among all the settlements as distinguished from the rascally pueblos, Santa Barbara possesses the double advantage of being both the oldest and the most aristocratic. The houses are not only well finished at first, but are throughout kept in good order; and the whitewashed adobes and the painted balconies and verandas form a pleasing contrast with the overshadowing roofs blackened by means of bitumen, the produce of a neighboring spring. Nor is the superiority of the inhabitants less striking than that of their houses."[3]

About this time, the Old Patriarch, as Captain José de la Guerra was called by Fr. Durán, received from the Mexican Government the recognition which he had well deserved. In a letter dated, Mexico, March 6, 1841, President Anastásio Bustamante granted to the captain the desired permit to retire to private life with the full pay of a Captain of Infantry in consideration of his fifty-two years of service in the army.[4]

At the Mission, Leandro González, who, on the request of Fr. Durán had been appointed mayordomo early in 1840, continued in office until by the decree of the new governor, Manuel Micheltorena, all the Missions of California were restored to the management of the Franciscans. The decree was dated at Los Angeles on May 29, 1843. By that time, however, the Missions generally had been almost administered out of existence. What was left by the hired managers resembled bones picked of the flesh. Another order, issued in the same year on April 3, directed the administrators to surrender the Missions and their property to the same friars, but regarding the activities of the Fathers at

[3] *Missions and Missionaries*, iv, 234-235.

[4] *Santa Barbara Mission Archives*, ad annum.

Santa Barbara, during Micheltorena's rule, which terminated in February, 1845, no details are extant.[5]

Over his own signature, on July 14, 1839, Inspector Hartnell described the state of Santa Barbara Mission as follows: 1,300 head of cattle, *counted;* 300 head of cattle, *computed;* 445 mares and colts, 27 mules, 154 tame horses, 35 yoke of oxen, 29 hides of cattle, 7 hides of cattle salted in the tannery, 6 other cattle hides in the tannery, 29 sheepskins, 40 pieces of parchment, 42 undressed sheepskins, 150 pieces of cheese, 1,475 pounds of tallow in six casks, 4,500 pounds of iron.—At the Rancho de San Marcos: 948 sheep, 92 cattle, 10 tame horses and 7 mules.—At the Rancho de Santa Rosa: 1,304 sheep, 22 goats.[6] Compare this with Mofras's figures a few pages back.

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[5] *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 272-277.

[6] *Santa Barbara Mission Archives,* ad annum.

CHAPTER XXIII.

New Mexican Constitution.—Oath Solemnly Taken by the Bishop and the Clergy.—Ordinations at the Mission Church.—Patrons of the Diocese.—Dispute About Land.—Missionaries Have Full Authority Over Indians.—Micheltorena on Schools.—New Governor Sets Good Example at Santa Barbara.—Bancroft's Erroneous Statement.—Micheltorena Incurs the Wrath of the Paisano Chiefs. —He Retires to Mexico.—Pio Pico Begins Plotting Against the Missions.

ON June 12th, 1843, the Congress of Mexico decided to change the constitution of the so-called republic. It was the third time since the declaration of independence. The new constitution was called *Las Bases Orgánicas de la Republica Mejicana.* On September 22, 1843, Governor Micheltorena informed Bishop García Diego of this change, and intimated that every one was expected to swear allegience to it. Accordingly, we find in the Bishop's *Libro Borador* or Blotter the following record of what happened in consequence of the governor's note: "On October 15, 1843, the oath on the *Bases Orgánicas de la Republica Mejicana* was solemnly taken in the Mission church of Santa Barbara, after having assembled in the apartments of the Rev. Fr. Missionary (rather, in the *sala* or large reception room), and gone in procession to the church, by the following: Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego; Fr. Antonio Jimeno, the missionary in charge of the Mission; Fr. Francisco Sánchez; the secular priest Antonio Jiménez del Récio; the secular priest José M. Rosáles; the sub-deacon Doroteo Ambris; some others in Minor Orders; and the undersigned secretary Fr. José González Rúbio." These composed the official family of the Bishop. Doubtless also Fr. Durán complied, though his name is not mentioned. Being pastor of the presidio and town, however, he probably took the oath in the chapel of the presidio. Next day, on October 16, the Bishop, through his secretary, notified the governor

that he and the clergy had assembled in the reception room of Mission Santa Barbara, and then marched in procession to the church, where the oath was taken as directed.[1]

Among those who took the oath, two secular priests are mentioned. This requires an explanation. Till now, no other than Franciscan priests had officiated at Santa Barbara or anywhere in the territory, except by permit from the friars in charge. When, in December, 1841, the first Bishop arrived in San Diego, several theological students were in his company. On the nineteenth of that month, the Bishop conferred the Tonsure and Minor Orders on three of their number; namely, Antonio Jiménez, José M. Rosáles, and Doroteo Ambris. Thereupon, at Mission Santa Barbara, these and a few other students continued their studies under the eyes of the Bishop. On Sunday, June 26, 1842, for the first time in California, the higher Orders were conferred at the Mission church. Antonio Jiménez del Récio was ordained sub-deacon, and Miguel Gómez, who had arrived as sub-deacon, was ordained deacon. Three days later, on June 29, José Maria Rosáles was ordained sub-deacon and Antonio Jiménez, deacon, while Miguel Gómez was elevated to the priesthood. Accordingly, the last mentioned enjoyed the distinction of being the first priest ordained in California. On Sunday, October 1, 1843, the Bishop conferred the Tonsure and Minor Orders on a Californian, a native of Monterey, José de los Santos Ávila. On the same day, Doroteo Ambris was ordained sub-deacon and José Rosáles, deacon. On the eighth of the same month, the Bishop raised Antonio Jiménez and José Rosáles to the priesthood. The little seminary was conducted at the Mission until May, 1844, when the students were transferred to Mission Santa Inés, where on May 4, a college and seminary were opened on a larger scale. Governor Manuel Micheltorena had there granted a tract of land for that purpose, besides giving a substantial personal donation.[2]

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1 *Archb. Arch.*, no. 2,269.

2 *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 262-263.

In a lengthy Pastoral Letter, issued at the Mission on January 4, 1843, Bishop García Diego designated the Blessed Virgin Mary under the title of Our Lady of Refuge as Principal Patroness of the diocese, and St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis de Sales as secondary patrons.[3]

Early in 1843, a dispute arose between Nicholas A. Den and Fr. Prefecto Narciso Durán. The case was carried to Governor Micheltorena, who invited the disputants to appear before him at Los Angeles. The hearing took place on March 21 and 22, 1843. Fr. Durán, for the Mission, was represented by Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno and Fr. González Rúbio, while the mayordomo of the Mission, Leandro González, represented Mr. Nicholas A. Den. The case was argued in order to obtain a juridical declaration on a tract of land to which Mr. Den claimed he had a right, which Fr. Durán denied. After the matter had been discussed for three hours on March 21 and for two hours on March 22, the following agreement was reached: 1.—The Mission shall have as exclusive and perpetual dominion, all the land on the left bank of the Arroyo de la Cañada de las Armas. 2.—Nicholas A. Den shall have as absolute and perpetual dominion, all the land ceded by the Mission of Santa Barbara, and extending from the right bank of the Arroyo de la Cañada de las Armas to the Cañada de las Llagas. The document was signed by Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, Fr. González Rúbio, Nicholas A. Den, Leandro González, and the secretary, Francisco Arce. It was approved and signed by Governor Manuel Micheltorena on March 22, 1843.[4]

In reply to a request from the Mexican Government for a report on the condition of the Missions, Fr. Narciso Durán, under date of March 18, 1844, wrote: "This Mission of Santa Barbara has suffered much from secularization. It maintains its neophytes with great difficulty. In spiritual and temporal matters it is under the management of the

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[3] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 260-261.

[4] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

undersigned (Fr. Durán) assisted by Fr. Antonio Jimeno. The number of neophytes is 287."[5]

The following note of September 26, 1844, which Governor Micheltorena sent to the alcalde of Santa Barbara, is in keeping with the decision of Viceroy Bucareli, made as early as 1773. It needs no comment. The governor wrote: "I remind you that since the manner in which the converted Indians live concerns the Rev. Missionary Fathers, these latter should have coercive authority. You are, therefore, like all the other judges, directed for the future not to interfere with the said Indians, excepting in criminal cases."[6]

Governor Micheltorena saw the necessity of educating the younger generation; but with him it was education of both the mind and the heart. He stated his ideas in unmistakable terms in a Reglamento for primary schools, which he published on May 1, 1844.[7] Previously, he issued for the jueces of Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Monterey, San José, and San Francisco, an order of the following tenor: "The governor, desirous of promoting in the best manner the education of the young, since upon this depends public happiness, has ordained that by the first day of July, in all the towns of the Department, schools shall be established for the children of both sexes."[8] What the result was, is not known. Previous governors had issued similar orders, but with limited success.

In July, 1843, while on his way to the north, Governor Micheltorena stopped at Santa Barbara. Doubtless, he and the Bishop paid their respects to each other. On this occasion, the governor gave an exceedingly good example to the inhabitants. He was traveling with his wife, Doña Josefa Fuentes, whom he had married eight years before. For some reason or another, the couple had not received the nuptial blessing, which the Church bestows only during holy

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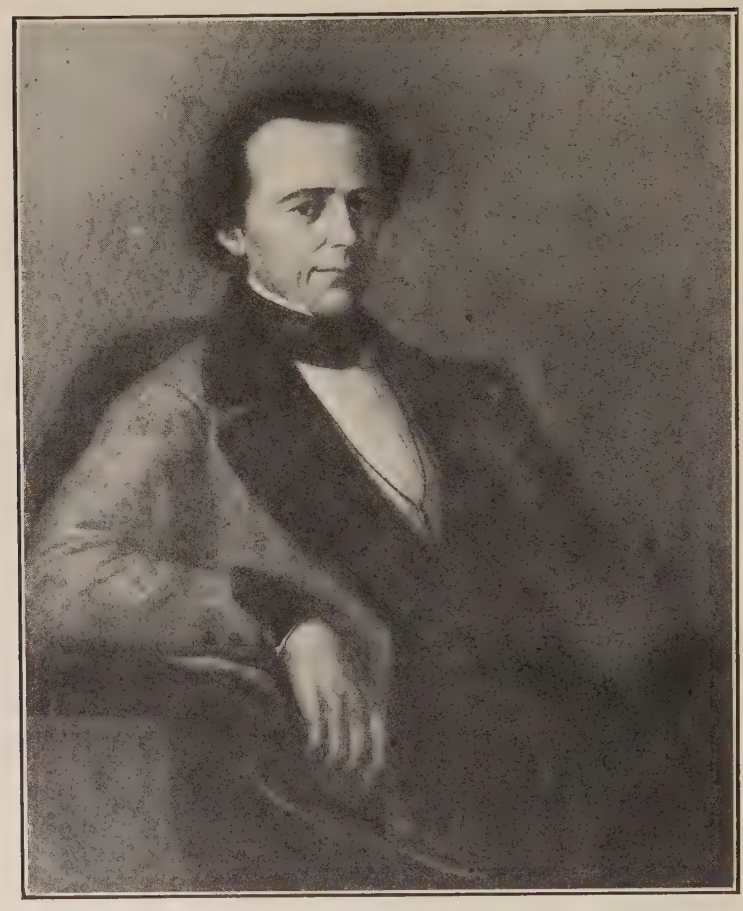
5 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 323.

6 *Cal. Arch., Dept. Rec.,* vol. xiii, pp. 158-159.

7 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 332-334.

8 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 332-333.



DON MANUEL MICHELTORENA, LAST MEXICAN GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA.

Mass. Their marriage had been blessed by a priest in Mexico outside holy Mass. Though the nuptial blessing is not necessary for the validity of the marriage, the Church desires that her children receive the sacrament of matrimony in connection with holy Mass in order to obtain the nuptial blessing. It being a favorable opportunity, the governor and his wife applied to the Bishop at Santa Barbara for

this coveted blessing. The latter complied and, under date of July 29, 1843, we find the following entry in the Marriage Register: "In this church of Santa Barbara (i. e., the presidio church) I gave the nuptial blessing to his Excellency Don Manuel Micheltorena and to Doña Josefa Fuentes, both previously married, as is evident from what Don Felix Valdes and Don Juan Avella, both officers of the army, can testify. That there be testimony of it for all time, I have signed today, April 20, 1844, on which day this entry was made.—Fr. Francisco, Bishop of the Californias. The witnesses were Don José Antonio Aguirre and Doña Josefa Gonzáles García Diego." Through a misunderstanding, as is noted in the Marriage Register later, no record was made of the ceremony. This would surely have been done on the same day had a real marriage ceremony taken place. The omission adds to the evidence that only the nuptial blessing was imparted to the noble couple, which ceremony alone was not generally put on record.

The ceremony must have been witnessed by various persons, some of whom related it to Bancroft's agent. Naturally, it was concluded that the two were married on that occasion, whereas they received only the nuptial blessing, as the entry clearly states. Hence, we can understand how Bancroft could print the following misleading statement: "Yet another achievement must be placed to the Bishop's credit. He succeeded in inducing Micheltorena to give a practical illustration of his devotion to Church precepts and to the cause of good morals, by marrying the woman he had brought from Mexico as his mistress." [9]

By following instructions from the Mexican Government, and restoring the Missions to the management of the Franciscans, Micheltorena incurred the animosity of the paisano chiefs. Accordingly, they rose in revolt against him under the pretext that he refused to dismiss the convict soldiers whom the Mexican Government had compelled him to take

[9] *California,* vol. iv, p. 374.

to California. Headed by Alvarado and José Castro, the conspirators came together, first south of San José, and then in the vicinity of San Juan Bautista. Hearing of their treachery, Micheltorena gathered a small army around him and, with some naturalized settlers under Captain John A. Sutter, undertook to crush the rebellion; but the conspirators retreated southward. Micheltorena followed in pursuit and, early in February, 1845, passed through Santa Barbara. On February 20, near Mission San Fernando, he met the rebel forces. Cannonading began and much powder was wasted; but, as usual where Californians and Mexicans were involved, no one was hurt. Next day the foreigners on both sides decided to let the natives fight it out alone. On seeing that Captain Sutter failed him, and that with his queer following alone he could not defeat the rebels, Micheltorena decided to resign the governorship and to return to Mexico. The treaty was signed near Mission San Fernando, on February 22, 1845.

Thereupon, Pio Pico, as senior of the legislative assembly, assumed control of the government. This assembly consisted of Pio Pico, Narciso Botello, Francisco Figueroa, Carlos Carrillo, and Ignácio del Valle. Now the Missions were doomed. From the very beginning of the sessions at Los Angeles, which was declared the capital of California, the Missions occupied the attention of the subservient assembly, which goes to show that it was not the poor soldiers of Micheltorena, but the fact that the Missions had been taken out of the hands of the so-called Californians, worried the paisano chiefs. Only three weeks after assuming control, on March 18, 1845, Pio Pico sent Carlos Carrillo and Ignácio del Valle to Santa Barbara for the purpose of persuading Fr. Prefecto Durán to agree to a plan for the ultimate alienation of the Mission property. Needless to say, Fr. Durán refused. On May 2, 1845, he wrote to Pico: "I have to say that the Mission owes nothing to any one, and that its assets consist of 140 hides, about 30 barrels of wine, and 3 barrels

of grape brandy." [10] This statement deprived Pico of the excuse he made for selling the Missions to pay the creditor, so far as concerned Santa Barbara.

Nevertheless Pio Pico was determined, as he himself declared, to wipe out the Missions; and to that end he had his assembly decree the confiscation and sale of the establishments. That done, he wrote to Fr. Durán, under date of July 1, 1845, as a preliminary step "that in obedience to the assembly decree of May 28, 1845, he is sending Andrés Pico (his brother) and Juan Manso to take the inventory of the Mission." [11]

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[10] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 340-355.

[11] *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 366; 380.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Young Priests Assigned.—Ordinations.—Fee System Proposed.—Inadequate.—Indians Grow Unruly.—Fr. Durán Tired of Managing.—Disgusted With the Indians as They Were.—Situation at the Mission.—Fr. Durán an Expert Musician.—Commissioners Appraise the Mission Property.—Their Compensation.—The Mission Leased.—Fr. Durán Notified.—He Replies.

LEAVING Pio Pico to hatch out and perpetrate his plans against the homes of Religion and industry, we turn for a while to a more cheerful subject. For the first time in the history of California, the holy oils were blessed in the Mission church of Santa Barbara, on March 24, 1842. The first ordinations have already been noted. Rev. Miguel Gómez, the first priest ordained in California, in November, 1842, was given charge of the ex-Mission of San Luis Obispo; on November 9, 1843, Rev. J. M. Rosáles was placed in charge of the spiritual affairs of Mission San Buenaventura, and Rev. Antonio Jiménez, another of the newly ordained priests, became assistant to Fr. Tomás Esténaga at Mission San Gabriel.

Once more, Bishop García Diego had the consolation of conferring sacred Orders on three students, who had meanwhile completed their theological course at the seminary of Mission Santa Inés. The ceremonies likewise took place in the Mission church of Santa Barbara. On Sunday, July 6, 1845, the seminarian Prudéncio Santillan received the Tonsure and the Minor Orders, while José de los Santos Ávila was promoted to the subdeaconship. On Thursday, July 10, Santillan was ordained deacon; and on Sunday, December 28, 1845, these two sub-deacons, and Dorotéo Ambrís, who had been ordained sub-deacon in October, 1843, received deaconship. Finally, on Thursday, January 1, 1846, the three deacons were elevated to the priesthood. A month later, on February 1, they were assigned as follows: Rev.

F. Franco. Obispo
De Californias.

Dorotéo Ambrís was stationed at Monterey; Rev. Prudéncio Santillan was appointed for San Francisco; and Rev. José de los Santos Ávila was directed to take charge of Mission Santa Clara and the town of San José.[1]

The poor Bishop experienced considerable difficulty to make ends meet. Finally, Pio Pico proposed that the Bishop adopt the fee system. "Even so," the Bishop replied, "what would be the income? Let us take Santa Barbara, the largest white settlement. Supposing it paid stipends or fees for the services of the priests in accordance with the tariff in vogue in the diocese of Guadalajara. In the preceding year of 1844, it would have contributed an income of only $326.75. Can a priest maintain himself and the divine services at his church with such a paltry sum? If then Santa Barbara under the fee system can not support a pastor, what about the smaller places?"[2] Soon after his arrival in California, Bishop Diego had ordered the Catholics to contribute tithes after the custom in Spanish countries; but the attempt to introduce the law in California had failed. The Bishop, therefore, was at a loss what provisions to make for the support of the clergy.

Meanwhile the neophytes, who had begun well under the management of Fr. Durán, failed to continue their good behavior. Contact with vicious whites, and the example of Indians roving over the country to their hearts' content, affected the younger generation badly, so that Fr. Durán at last tired of struggling for them against the greedy Californians headed by Pio Pico. Moreover, being feeble in health, he was unable to be around himself and to exercise his brilliant faculties with the energy of earlier years. He grew tired of life under the manifold burdens, and just waited to be called to the everlasting home. He had pleaded with Pico to permit the neophytes to retain possession of the Mission property, or to control it, until January, 1846.

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[1] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 257-258; 412.

[2] Ibidem, p. 400.

Long before that he changed his mind. "I wish," he writes on August 1, 1845, "and it is necessary, that the Mission be transferred as soon as possible to the lessees; for our Indian brethren are behaving very badly with the livestock and in the cornfields. They will kill many cattle, even working oxen, and they leave the corn to the crows and blackbirds. If the renting should be delayed, the grapes also will be much exposed, owing to the puerile character of the Indians, who are in expectation of the coveted liberty." [3]

As early as July 21, 1845, Fr. Durán had written to Pico: "It seems that Don Nicholas A. Den, with his father-in-law, Daniel Hill, have made an offer to rent the Mission of Santa Barbara for $1,200 annually. They are worthy and reliable persons. Now I beg Your Honor that, when an occasion offers, I be declared to have coercive power over the musicians and the singers, but to leave them free in everything else like the rest." [4]

Why Fr. Durán sighed for relief from the management of the temporalities may be inferred from a letter he addressed to Pio Pico on November 16, 1845. "I make it known to you," he writes, "that the Indians have their heads filled with ideas about liberty, and no power can reduce them to a rational life; nor will leniency succeed in making them cease the public disorders and scandals that disturb the social order, such as drunkenness, the rape of women belonging to others, stealing cattle, etc. This very day, a Sunday, they have made my servant, who has charge of my horse, drunk and stranded me at the presidio. Nor is this the first time." Fr. Durán generally went to the presidio chapel on Sunday mornings, celebrated holy Mass and preached for the people of the town, while Fr. Antonio Jimeno attended to the needs of the neophytes and such whites as would assist at holy Mass in the Mission church.

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[3] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 2,309.

[4] Pico, *Documentos*, ii, 53.

An Indian would take care of the horse which Fr. Durán had to use, because the Fr. Prefecto was not only rather stout but suffering from gout.

"In order that such scandals might be stopped," Fr. Durán continues, "it is necessary to employ force. What may we expect of Indian servants, if for every misdemeanor of theirs we are to appeal to the civil authorities? Neither they nor we should be able to do anything else, and then we should be the slaves of the servants' whims.

"I also suspect that few bids will be made for renting the Mission property, because the prospective lessees will be afraid, partly because they will fear the lack of laborers, and partly because they may suffer from robberies. So far as the Mission is concerned, I hold this to be certain. Since the inventory was drawn up, the grapes have been stolen, corn has been destroyed, and many cattle have been killed, and there is no remedy. When they hear these things, those gentlemen will offer nothing for the Missions. How then will divine worship and the missionaries be maintained? As it is, we are dependent on irrational Indians. In my opinion they do not deserve to be directed by a missionary Father. A slave-driver is what they deserve to have. I shall not continue, lest I excite myself; but on the coming first of January I will abandon the management of the Mission temporalities. If by that time no lessee is found, I will deliver the Mission property to the alcaldes."

What must have been the anguish of heart and mind that wrung such language from this true lover of the Indians! His lifework and that of all the missionaries had been destroyed by the greedy and unscrupulous paisano chiefs headed by Pio Pico, and such havoc was the result of their machinations. The poor Fr. Prefecto merely wanted to describe the situation, and give vent to his grief; but unwittingly, perhaps, every word he uttered was a condemnation of the acts of Pico and his confederates. If Don Pio had any conscience left unsmothered, he must have winced at what Fr. Durán penned now, because it all

"THEY ARE MUSICIANS WHOM IT COST ME TWELVE YEARS TO TEACH." (Fr. Duran.)

was the natural effect of meddling with the Missions on the part of the paisano chiefs and their henchmen.

"Within a short time," Fr. Durán writes, "there have run away a certain Narciso, single, with a woman married to Gaudéncio; Isídro, single, with Estéfana, married to Agaton; and Andrés, single, with Rita, a widow. If perchance they have gone into hiding at your capital (Pico on accession to power, had made Los Angeles the capital of California in place of Monterey), or in its vicinity, I shall esteem it a favor if your Excellency would have them severely chastised. In notifying me, I could send the men concerned after their wives. There are other runaways, such as Antero, Toríbio, Juan de Dios, and I know not which others, whose absence I do not mind, except that they are musicians whom it cost me twelve years of labor to teach. Your Excellency will see that all these things are contrary to good order and deserve punishment; and you will also understand that being a witness to all this wearies and fatigues." [5]

Fr. Durán was an expert musician. He had trained a band of neophytes at Mission San José to play various instruments before he came to Santa Barbara in 1833. He would detect a false note in any of the singers, and he had a method of letting the singers in the loft understand, unknown to the worshipers. When at the Gloria and Credo he as celebrant would be seated, and have his hands spread out on his knees as prescribed, the singers would watch the forefinger of the right hand. Whenever that rose erect on his knee, the singers would know that some one had blundered ever so slightly.

Commissioners were at last appointed to take an inventory or appraise the property. They must have thought that the Mission was the property of the government and that, as representatives of the government, they could help themselves to whatever suited them, besides charging an exorbitant compensation. "It has caused me great surprise,"

[5] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 2,311.

Fr. Durán wrote to Pico, "that $200 has been charged by the comisionados (Andrés Pico and Juan Manso) for four days' work which, as we see, has been fruitless; for now the same work has to be done over again, just as though nothing had been done. . . . The comisionados have taken ten horses away to the north. Commonly, these belong to those who have been put in the inventory. For that reason," he concludes sarcastically, "this must not be included in the panegyric." [6]

Fr. Durán might well express his amazement at seeing two comisionados appointed for a little clerical work that could have been performed by one just as well; but Pio Pico had to provide for his friends, especially for his own brother. As long as something could be squeezed out of the Mission property the Pico clique would enjoy it under whatever pretext.

On November 20, 1845, Pico informed Fr. Durán that on December 5, 1845, Mission Santa Barbara had been rented for $1,200 and the payment of the debts in cash, for nine years to Nicholas A. Den and Daniel Hill, who were the highest bidders. The Mission was now to pass out of the hands of the friars and into the hands of secular lessees. Pico's method of disposing of the Indian Missions in general may be inferred from his procedure in this case. "Nicholas August Den and Daniel Hill, being the lessees of Mission Santa Barbara," Pico wrote to Fr. Durán on December 16, 1845, "your Paternity will be pleased to proceed to the formal transfer of the lands and the movable property, as well as of the implements of labor and the appurtenances of said Mission to the aforesaid Den and Hill by way of a scrupulous inventory, stating also the valuation. This document will be drawn up in duplicate, in order that one may remain in the possession of the lessees and the other be transmitted by your Rev. Paternity to this government.

"In said transfer, because they are not included in the

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[6] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 387-388.

lease, need not be comprehended the articles at the Mission in the form of seeds, liquor, hides, tallow, manteca, soap, leather, saddles, coin, and other things that may exist there beyond what is specified in the preceding paragraph; nor the furniture of the missionary Fathers, nor the houses which the members of the Rt. Rev. Bishop's household may occupy. Your Paternity will please dispose of such things, paying therefrom the debts which the Mission may have, and reserving the sum of $200 as payment for the comisionados of the Mission (Andrés Pico and Juan Manso).

"The government bears in mind that your Paternity may not be able to assist personally in the transfer of the Mission and its appurtenances; I have therefore thought it well to name the sub-prefect of your district coadjutor to your Rev. Paternity in said transfer." [7]

Ten days later, on December 26, 1845, Fr. Durán answered as follows: "Replying to your favor of the sixteenth instant, in which you communicate to me the names of the lessees of this Mission, Messrs. Den and Hill, in order that I, in virtue of this notice, may proceed to deliver to them this Mission of Santa Barbara, I have to say that we immediately commenced the work and that to-day the surrender of San Marcos has already been accomplished. The live-stock is now being collected. It has caused me a great deal of astonishment that $200 should be reserved for the comisionados in payment for four days of labor which, as we see, has been useless; for now it must be done over again, just as though nothing had been done. Nothing salable is left, except fifty hides and six or seven barrels of grape brandy. If perchance there be just and reasonable grounds for having to pay this amount, I shall make a sacrifice and pay it with the aguardiente at the rate of $45 a barrel, which is the price at which it sells; or if it must be in silver, they will have to wait until the aguardiente is sold. Perhaps, in time, I myself may present other charges against the Mis-

[7] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 456-457.

sion; for I have expended, for clothing and grain for the Indians, more than $1,000 of what pertained to me for holy Masses and stipends. However, I am not very determined to put such a burden on the unfortunate Indians. When the transfer has been concluded, I shall forward to your Excellency the inventory with the valuation scrupulously executed, as you demand of me."[8]

[8] *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 456.

CHAPTER XXV.

Fr. Durán Praises Indian Neophytes.—Donates His Income to Them.—The Rent for the Mission.—Position of the Fathers Pathetic.—The Mission Sold by Pio Pico.—Deed of Sale.—Land Grant by Pico.—Protested.—Grant of San Marcos Null and Void.—San Marcos Rancho.—Indian Lays Claim to Land.

DESPITE their lack of appreciation, which was due rather to childish thoughtlessness, Fr. Durán always nourished a sympathetic feeling for the neophyte Indians. He took their part whenever a chance to benefit them presented itself. Thus, for instance, on January 2, 1846, he seized the opportunity to write to Pico: "By this date, the cattle of Santa Barbara Mission, to the number of 1,000 head, have already been turned over. According to the lessees themselves, this would show that there may be a few more. In truth, I did not think there were so many. The credit is due to the poor Indians. From this I see that the stories of some people have been false or exaggerated. Only the horses still remain to be delivered; and then a little cloth remains to be made on the loom, in order to clothe a few Indians who need it. I shall immediately assemble the Indians, explain to them the Reglamento with its obligations and advantages, and then, in the name of the government, declare them free."

This same solicitude of the Fr. Prefecto for his former Indian wards is apparent from another communication to the governor. Under date of January 24, 1846, he says: "I inform your Excellency that this Mission of Santa Barbara has been entirely given over to the lessees, and that the Indians are at liberty. To the Indians were assigned the little pieces of land which the Reglamento grants them. All has been done in accord with the lessees and it seems that we have left all contented. In consequence they have presented to me a paper which I enclose to your Excellency but on which you will excuse the blots. Considering how

laborious it would be for all to present the demands and to execute the titles to each one in particular, I thought that, if your Excellency approved it, a general title might be issued, in order that some authority place each Indian in possession of the lands which to date have been assigned to them, expressing the conditions of the Reglamento on leasing, and that said general title be entered with the justice of peace, so that for all times the legal individual ownership of the Indians be in evidence, without prejudice to any declaration which unforeseen circumstances might at some period make necessary, though never such as would infringe on this personal ownership." [1]

Furthermore, in a letter to Pico, dated as early as July 25, 1845, even Andrés Pico and Juan Manso could not help testifying to Fr. Durán's persistent devotion to the neophytes. "Fr. Durán," they wrote, "told us that the whole income due him from the Missions of San Buenaventura and Santa Inés he would donate to the neophytes of those Missions." [2]

Of the rental to be paid by the lessees, according to Pico's confiscation decree, one-third was for the missionary and the maintenance of divine worship, one-third for the neophytes, and one-third for public education and public beneficence as soon as the Mission debts were paid. Hence, as Mission Santa Barbara was leased for $1,200 a year, the Indians received $400, less than two dollars a head, and the missionary received $400, with which he was to defray the expenses of divine worship and to eke out a livelihood for himself for a twelvemonth. With this in mind, one can appreciate the remarks which Fr. Durán made to Pico under date of December 26, 1845. "If the proceeds are distributed pro rata," he wrote, "we shall receive a trifle, which I do not specify here so as not to lose time in figuring. I find myself bound to bring all this to the attention of your Excellency so that you may weigh the circumstances and

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1 *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 464-465.

2 *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions*, vol. xiii, p. 969.

provide the necessaries of life. We do not aspire to anything magnificent or to an income; all we desire is the necessary food."

When it is remembered that these venerable old priests and their predecessors had for seventy years provided food and clothing for thousands of Indians, and had saved nothing for themselves, this begging for the necessaries of life from the Mission despoilers must strike the reader as extremely pathetic and tragic. However, Pico was determined to wipe out the Missions, in order that he, his relatives, and his henchmen might get possession of what the missionaries and their neophytes had reared and produced. What wonder then if, in keeping with the law of retribution, Pico escaped the Poorhouse only through the charity of an American; and if, so far as is known, all the other beneficiaries of the robbery fared in a similar manner.

As regards Santa Barbara, Pico's decree of May 25, 1845, provided that "no part of the principal edifice shall be included which is destined for the household of His Lordship, the Bishop, and suite, and the Rev. Fathers who dwell therein; and there shall be placed at the disposal of the renter only the cellars, the movable goods and the workshops which are not applied to the service of the said prelates."

Finally, for reasons best known to the Pico crowd, Santa Barbara, like other Missions, was sold on June 10, 1846, to Richard S. Den for $7,500. This was done despite an express prohibition issued by the Government of Mexico on November 14, 1845.[3]

The deed of sale for Santa Barbara Mission reads in English as follows:

"Deed of Sale of Mission Santa Barbara.

"Pio Pico, Constitutional Governor of the Department of the Californias.

"Having been amply authorized by the Supreme National Government to provide for the common defense of the

[3] *Missions and Missionaries*, iv, 447, 464-465, 455, 501-502.

Department in case of an invasion, which is with reason feared, and it being for that reason necessary to take some steps to obtain means, Dr. Richard S. Den having presented himself before this government and expressed a wish to purchase the Mission of Santa Barbara with all that belongs to it, offering the amount of $7,500 and obliging himself to supply subsistence for the Missionary Father, acting in consequence according to the decree of the Honorable Assembly relative to Missions of April 13, last, having seen and considered everything that ought to be kept in mind, I have proceeded to the formal and effective sale of Mission Santa Barbara with all its landed property, movable and immovable, which may not be recognized as private property, which shall belong to Don Richard A. Den, for the sum of $7,500, which he has turned over to the departmental government, being excepted from this sale the church, its appurtenances, as well as the apartments or habitation of the Rev. Father who exists there and under the following conditions:

"1. He will respect the property of the Indians who may have established themselves there, and he will not molest them nor deprive them thereof in virtue of this sale.

"2. He will note the Indians who may desire land to cultivate for their own benefit, giving them the right over such land, and he will not prevent them from introducing the product of the field in the places which offer them the facility, under the condition that they do not alienate the lands to any one, and in case they abandon the land, it shall belong to the purchaser of the Mission.

"3. He will provide what is necessary for the subsistence of the Missionary Father and the conservation of divine worship.

"4. As soon as the years have expired for which the Mission was rented, he will take possession of it; but in the meantime he may not dispose of any of its property, except with the consent of the lessees.

"Furthermore, I declare by these present letters that the

Don Richard A. Den is the legitimate owner of the said Mission of Santa Barbara in the terms and under the conditions expressed with which it agrees.

"In order that for all time there be due permanence, I give this document as a formal manuscript, which will be recognized and certified by all civil and military authorities of the Mexican Nation in this and the other departments, and even by the General Government of it, authorized in due form with my signature and that of the secretary of my office on this ordinary paper because of the absolute lack of stamped paper, at Los Angeles on the tenth of June, 1846.—Pio Pico.—José Matias Moreno, Secretary pro tem." [4]

The following documents also speak for themselves:

"Pio Pico, Senior Member of the Departmental Assembly, Provisional Governor of California, through the Constitutional Ministry.

"Inasmuch as Don Anastasio Carrillo has solicited for his personal benefit and that of his family a plot of land in the Cieneguitas adjoining the Mission of Santa Barbara, which formerly the deceased Indian Juan Pablo occupied, having previously made the requisite investigation of said Mission, in virtue of the authority conferred on me in the name of the Mexican Nation, I have by decree of this date proceeded to concede the said plot declaring him the owner of it by these present letters in conformity with the Law of August 18, 1824, and with the Reglamento of November 21, 1828, and under the following conditions:

"1. The land, which is being donated is 400 varas square in extent, a little more or less, may be fenced in without prejudice to cross-roads and rights of way; he will enjoy it freely and exclusively and destine it for the most convenient use and utility; but he will have to cultivate it in order to prevent denunciation.

"2. He will in no way prejudice the natives of the Mission of Santa Barbara, who may have settled or may settle

[4] Hayes, *Mission Book*, vol. i, no. 377. Bancroft Collection.

in the Cieneguitas, in the free access to water for irrigating their fields, gardens, and for whatever other use they can make of it.

"3. He will obtain from the respective judge the juridical possession in virtue of this warrant, by which the boundaries will be marked in keeping with the necessary survey. . . . Los Angeles . . . October 10, 1845.—Pio Pico.—José Maria Covarrúbias, Secretary." [5]

Protest.

"The undersigned, as lessees of the land of Mission Santa Barbara, called to his house yesterday, the 14th instant, by Raimundo Carrillo, the alcalde of this city, to sign the act of juridical possession of the land situated in the territory of Seneguita (Cieneguita), granted to Don Anastasio Carrillo. Having heard the reading of said act, they not only refused to sign it but also protested against its form, it not having been specified and not having been found confirmed in it the rights of the proprietors and lessees of the boundaries of the land granted, rights consecrated by the very title of concession of the governor of this province of that period, in which document it is said that the water which runs through the land granted to Don Anastasio Carrillo *shall always follow its ancient and free course and that it can never be deviated nor detained,* in order that the proprietors and lessees of that land may cultivate and fertilize it by means of irrigation. In view of the possibility that Don Anastasio Carrillo or his heirs can at any time avail themselves of the act of juridical possession, which forms the object of the present protest, and prejudice gravely in all their interests the poor Indians or their successors and other persons who possess a right to be protected, moved solely by a profound sense of justice and charity, the undersigned protest once more against said juridical possession on this day at Santa Barbara in Alta California, September 15, 1849.—Den and Hill through N. A. Den.—Copy of the

[5] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

minutes sent to the Prefect of the District of Santa Barbara, September 17, 1849."[6]

The following document is in English and in the hand of Colonel Stevenson:

"I hereby certify that in the latter part of July or early in the month of August last I was informed that Alcalde Carrillo of this judicial District, had given Don Richard S. Den of Los Angeles possession of the Ranch of San Marcos—pursuant to a deed of gift or sale from Don Pio Pico dated in 1846. Immediately upon being advised of this circumstance, I made an official communication to the said Alcalde declaring this act of his null and void, and of no effect and directed him so to advise the party or parties to whom he had given the possession of said Ranch, this communication thus forwarded through Captain F. Lippett who advised me that he handed it to the Alcalde in person at the same time I caused a notice to be served on the said Richard S. Den through . . . (unreadable) in the Pueblo of Los Angeles—declaring his possession null and void and forbidding him to use or occupy in any manner any portion of the said Ranch of San Marcos or its appurtenances or in any manner to sell or dispose of or exercise any control of the said lands or appurtenances—this order was delivered to him in person by my secretary. These communications were made to Alcalde Carrillo and Dr. Den in my official capacity as Col. Commanding the southern Military District of California.—Copies of these documents were forwarded by me to His Excellency R. B. Mason and . . . brought me his approval. I therefore regard all the acts of Alcalde Carrillo in this particular as null and void and the said Ranch of San Marcos as forming a part of the lands and property of the Mission of Santa Barbara.

J. D. Stevenson,
Col. Comdg. S. M. District,
California.[7]

"Santa Barbara, October 4, 1848."

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[6] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

[7] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

The above-mentioned Rancho of San Marcos was called by the Indians Mistwagheheaug. It received the name San Marcos probably after Fr. Marcos Amestoy, who together with Fr. Juan Cortés was missionary at Santa Barbara in 1804, to which Mission the rancho belonged. In that same year it was stocked and some buildings were erected. According to the inventory of March 15, 1835, the following structures were at San Marcos: a house with corridor, the size of the building being 20 varas long and 7 varas wide; it was of adobe. Then there were a kitchen, 4 varas long and 3 varas wide; a lagar or wine press, 4 varas square; a bodega or cellar of adobe, 2 varas long and 8 varas wide; a granary of adobe, 2 varas long and 5 varas wide; an adobe dwelling for the Indians, 11 varas long and 4 varas wide; and finally a chapel of adobe, the dimensions of which are not known.

The following document is evidence of a rare instance where a Mission Indian laid claim to land that he inherited:

"In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. I, Francisco Massilili, native of the Mission of Santa Barbara, aged sixteen years and four months and three days, legitimate son of the Indians, called Fulgencio and Petronila, of the same Mission, being in sound mind and in my natural judgment, believing as I truly believe all the articles and mysteries of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Faith, in which belief I was baptized and in which I hope to live and die; being the proprietor of a garden situated at San Francisco Xavier, *alias* La Cieneguita, inasmuch as I am the legitimate heir of my grandfather on my mother's side, Higinio, I ordain and it is my will that in the case of my death, José Feliciano Sugriyet should inherit and have possession of said garden. I name him in the first place. In the second place I name Gabriel, the son of the late Prisca. These I designate as my only legitimate heirs of said garden, and I annul and repeal whatever other disposition of mine previous to said date; and I protest that I freely and spontaneously make this manifestation or declara-

tion of my will regarding the aforesaid persons Feliciano, and in case of his demise, Gabriel. I execute this document at Santa Barbara on the seventh day of the month of October in the year of the Lord 1849, and as I do not know how to write, by my own authority before three witnesses.—Francisco Massilili.—Victor Lino, *Alcalde*."

"The Constitutional Alcalde of Santa Barbara and the Missionary Father of the neophytes of the same place certify: That the garden situated at San Francisco (*alias* Cieneguita) established by the neophyte Higínio, who has died since, is the property of Francisco Massilili as the legitimate grandson, which he is, on the mother's side, of said Higínio, who has no other lawful heir, there being none, than the aforesaid Francisco. The garden comprises three hundred and sixty Spanish yards of timber, six fig trees, twelve pear trees, eight peach trees, fifteen grapevines, one prickly pear cactus, and one water ditch.

"For the security of the person interested we issue this present document at Santa Barbara on October 3, in the year of our Lord 1849.—Fr. Antonio Jimeno.—Octaviano Gutiérrez, *Alcalde*."[8]

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[8] *Santa Barbara Archives*, ad annum.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Death of Bishop Diego.—Circular Announcing the Sad News.—The Funeral.—The Tomb and Inscription.—Death of Fr. Durán.—The Bear Flag Republic.—Pico's Proclamation.—Last Mission Sold.—Spanish Vice-Consul.—Rev. Eugene McNamara's Scheme and the Mexican Government.—His Plea.—Referred to the California Government.

IN the meantime, the first Bishop of California, the Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego y Moreno, in his narrow apartments at Mission Santa Barbara, was fast approaching the end of his life. He had been ailing ever since his return, August 10, 1844, from his Confirmation tour in the north. The religious indifference of the majority of the Californians, notably of the prominent paisanos, which promised no hope of ever realizing the grand plans with which he had entered the diocese, completely discouraged the Bishop. The furious war waged by those same paisano chiefs against the centers of Religion and Indian industry, as described in the preceding chapters, only aggravated his poor state of health so that he felt weary of the high office, and was willing to resign it into the hands of his Divine Master. On April 19, 1846, therefore, the dying Bishop appointed Fr. Narciso Durán and Fr. González Rúbio vicars-general with authority jointly to govern the diocese. Thereupon he lingered till midnight, Thursday, April 30, 1846, when his soul passed away to its Maker.

A circular, immediately issued by the vicars-general, informed the clergy and the laity as follows: "Dear Fathers and Señores:—With the most profound grief we have to communicate to you the sad news of the death of our amiable Prelate, the Illustrious Don Francisco García Diego y Moreno, whom God, our Lord, after a long and painful illness, patiently borne, has been pleased to call to Himself on this date at twelve o'clock in the night.

"The virtuous and religious life of our Prelate, his edifying piety in providing for his death by receiving the holy Sacraments, above all, the infinite mercies of the Lord, cause us to believe that the Most Illustrious Diocesan, whom we lament, will already be enjoying God. Nevertheless, inasmuch as it is our duty to honor his good memory, and to offer suffrages for the repose of his soul, we recommend that all the Rev. Fathers as soon as possible celebrate with all possible solemnity the Requiem Mass and the obsequies that the Ritual prescribes to be held on receiving notice of a Prelate's death.

"Every moment our sorrow is felt more bitterly when we reflect that this new Diocese of California, scarcely established, is already orphaned, desolate, and grieved over the death of its Pastor. This sad condition and this lamentable loss obliges us to exhort all, the clergy and the laity of the Californias, with one voice to direct fervent petitions to the God of all consolation, by reciting the litanies and other prayers which the Ceremonial of Bishops commands should be offered during the time a See is vacant, in order that the Lord in His mercy may deign to provide us with a new Pastor, who will console us orphans, and who will rule, govern, and exalt this new Diocese now so desolate and sorrowful.

"We supplicate each of the Rev. Fathers to direct this circular without delay to the Rev. Father nearest him, taking care that the bearer be trustworthy. Each one will be careful not to forget to affix his name as prescribed. God keep your Reverences. Santa Barbara, April 30, 1846. Fr. Narciso Durán, Fr. José Maria de Jesus González Rúbio." [1]

On May 1, Sub-prefect Anastásio Carrillo reported the death of the Bishop to Governor Pico. He thought that the burial honors should be those of a Grand Marshal. The entire population, he wrote, had already been invited to attend the funeral, and a cannon was booming every fifteen

[1] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 516-517.

Hic jacet Illustrissimus ac Reverendissimus
D.D.D. Fran. Garcia Diego et Moreno
primus Episcopus hujus Dioeceseos Californiarum
qui pridie Kalendas Maii Anno Domini
MDCCCXLVI ex hac vita migravit.

MONUMENT OVER THE TOMB OF THE FIRST BISHOP OF CALIFORNIA IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE MISSION CHURCH.

minutes. "Divine Providence," he concluded, "has taken from us a grand man, a just soul."[2]

Regarding the funeral, all that is known for certain is that it took place on Sunday, May 3, 1846. This circumstance naturally prevented outside priests from attending. Besides Fr. Durán, Fr. Rúbio, Fr. Antonio Jimeno, and probably, Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno or Fr. Francisco Sánchez of Mission Santa Inés, no other priests could be present. We may take it, as a matter of course, that a solemn Requiem High Mass was celebrated by Fr. González Rúbio. Tradition has it that Fr. Durán preached the sermon, which may be correct.

In accord with the wishes of the deceased Prelate, his remains were not placed in the vault beneath the sanctuary, but in a tomb expressly prepared for them on the Epistle side of the main altar. A large panel on the wall indicates the spot. The inscription reads:

Hic jacet Illmus. ac Revmus. D.D. Fr.
Fran. García Diego et Moreno
Primus Epus hujus Dioecesis
Californ., Qui pridie Kalendas
Maii, Anni Domini MDCCCXLVI,
ex hac vita Migravit.

It is scarcely necessary to note that the Bishop as such died poor. His account book showed a balance of only $97. To this sum must be added $879.02, due him from José Antonio Aguirre. This entire amount the Bishop left to the administrator of the Diocese. Personally, he possessed nothing.[3] A sketch of his life will be found near the end of this volume.

The senior vicar-general of the Diocese and commissary prefect of the Franciscans in the south, Fr. Narciso Durán, soon followed the Bishop to the grave. On June 1, 1846, only five weeks after the Bishop's mortal remains had been

2 *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juzg.*, ii, 637-638.

3 *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, p. 519.

laid to rest, Fr. Durán passed to his eternal reward. For details on the activities of this grand old man, we refer the reader to volumes III and IV of *The Missions and Missionaries of California.* A brief sketch of his life will be found in a subsequent chapter of this volume.

In the office of commissary prefect, the deceased Fr. Durán was succeeded by Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, who remained at Mission Santa Inés as rector of the seminary. Fr. González Rúbio became sole administrator of the orphaned Diocese, and resided as before at Mission Santa Barbara.

Very little of interest is found in the records of Mission Santa Barbara after it had been sold by Pio Pico on June 10, 1846. Political affairs, however, became exciting in the old conservative town. By the middle of June the political pot was fairly seething. Before the ink had dried, so to speak, on the last bill of sale that alienated the inalienable property of Mission San Fernando, dated June 17, 1846, the Picos, Castros, Alvarados, Vallejos, and their henchmen knew the fate of the territory which they misruled. In fact, the perpetrators of the crime against the Indians and their guides were about to war on one another when, on June 23, 1846, the astounding news reached Pio Pico at Santa Barbara that on Junday, June 14, 1846, a small company of about thirty-five American settlers and adventurers had surprised the military post at Sonoma, and captured the valiant commander, Mariano Vallejo, without shedding a drop of blood. The Americans had hoisted a flag of their own design, later called the Bear flag, and proclaimed the California Republic. The prisoners were marched off and locked up in Sutter's Fort, Sacramento. This was a severe blow to Vallejo's pride, who, during the two months that he was incarcerated, most probably wished that Fr. Durán might now "interfere in military affairs" for his benefit.

From Santa Barbara, Pio Pico immediately, on June 23, 1846, issued a violent and bombastic proclamation appealing to the paisanos for help against the intruders. Mexican-

Californians, as well as foreigners, however, were tired of the wrangling officials. Some were ready to welcome any change. Hence the response to Pico's appeal in the south was not more hearty than that to José Castro's call to arms in the north. Not more than a dozen or fifteen men came up from Los Angeles, and that only after much correspondence. Nor did the members of his legislature obey Pico's summons to meet at Santa Barbara, even when he conjured all to unite with the government for the salvation of the country. By the beginning of July, Don Pio had only about a hundred men ready for the march.

While still at Santa Barbara, Pio Pico, on July 4, perpetrated his last act of infamy against the Missions by selling Mission San Miguel to Petronillo Rios and William Reid for an unknown price.[4] On the same day, July 4, Andrés Pico with the larger portion of the "army" of a hundred men, began the march to the north and Pio Pico followed on July 6 to Mission Santa Inés.

A few days previously, on June 30, Mr. A. B. Thompson petitioned Pio Pico for license to hunt otters from the port of Santa Barbara to Point Reyes, just beyond the Golden Gate. Pico, on the same day, granted the request on condition that he do not harm the young brood, and that he pay duty conformably to the number of otters caught.

On the fourth day of the same month, 1846, Cesário Lataillade of Santa Barbara notified Pico that he had entered on the duties of vice-consul for Spain. He had received the *Exequatur* from the Mexican Government on August 26, 1845.[5] Don Cesário married Maria Antonio, a daughter of José de la Guerra.

In the meantime, the legislative assembly continued its sessions at Los Angeles. Only one of the subjects discussed by them demands our consideration. In the preceding year, 1845, Rev. Eugene McNamara presented himself to the

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[4] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 541-547; 508.

[5] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap.,* vii, 119; 156-557; *Sup. Gov.,* xviii, 82-83; also *Thompson Collection,* Santa Barbara.

Mexican President with a colonization plan. "I propose," he said, "with the aid and approbation of your Excellency, to place in Upper California a colony of Irish Catholics. I have a threefold object in making this proposition. I wish, in the first place, to advance the cause of Catholicism; secondly, to contribute to the happiness of my countrymen; and thirdly, I desire to put an obstacle in the way of further usurpations on the part of an irreligious and anti-Catholic nation.[6] Therefore I propose to your Excellency that there be conceded to me an extent of territory on the coast of Upper California for the purpose I have indicated.

"I should prefer, with the permission of your Excellency, to place the first colonists on the Bay of San Francisco. Your Excellency will agree with me that this would be a proper step, when it is remembered that the Americans have possession of Bodega, a port abandoned by the Russians, situated a little north of San Francisco.[7] I should bring, for a beginning, one thousand families; afterwards, should it appear well to your Excellency, I would establish a second colony near Monterey, and a third at Santa Barbara. By this means, the entire coast (by which most danger is to be expected) would be completely secured against invasions and pillages of foreigners. For each family that I bring, I will require the land that composes 'one *sitio de ganado mayor*' (a square league containing 4,428 acres) to be given free of cost; likewise, that the children of the colonists, when they marry, shall receive half a *sitio* (2,214 acres) as a national gift. I should require, likewise, an exemption from the payment of all classes of contributions for a certain number of years; that the colonists, on taking possession of their lands, shall consider themselves under the protection of the government, and shall enjoy all their rights. I have the satisfaction to be able to say that these propositions have received the fullest approbation of the Most Illustrious

[6] The United States.

[7] McNamara must have been prompted by some one in California, since he himself had never been in the territory.

Archbishop, the venerable head of the Church in this country (Mexico). . . . I have the honor to be, etc., Eugene McNamara."

This paper had no date. A little later, McNamara again addressed the Mexican President, who seems to have hesitated on account of the expense the transportation of the colonists would require. "This objection appears sufficiently well founded," McNamara wrote; "but I think I shall be able to show your Excellency, in a few words, that it is very easy to overcome, and that the object may be realized without the Government finding it necessary to expend a single dollar.

"I beg your Excellency to be pleased to take into consideration what I have before expressed, I believe sufficiently, to obtain the money necessary for the transportation of the colonists. In the first place, there are in my country many fathers of families, who, after selling the little land they possess, their cattle, furniture, etc., would be able to command two hundred or three hundred dollars, with which sum they would have nearly enough to cover the expenses of the voyage and of their families; but, as it will be necessary to convey many other families who lack the means for paying the expenses of their transportation, such as priests, physicians, mechanics, young women, etc., it will be necessary to obtain money for that purpose; and I am of the opinion that, if the Supreme Government should assign in California a quantity of land sufficient to hypothecate, I would be able to obtain money in my own country upon the land.

"In the second place, I believe that the Supreme Government should agree to cede to me, for a certain period of time, for the use of the colonists, the duties on importations of the port of San Francisco. (!!) This last proposal may be conceded more readily, inasmuch as the Supreme Government does not receive much benefit from the duties of importation at that port.

"In this manner I believe I have shown to the Most Excellent Señor President, in a few words, resources easy

to be realized, and with which may be set aside all the objections that are presented, as I have demonstrated in the beginning, without the Government being compelled to make any expenditures. Your Excellency will excuse me that I take the liberty further to demonstrate that no time ought to be lost in this important affair, if it is desired to be realized, since your Excellency knows well enough that we are surrounded by an artful and base enemy,[8] who loses no means however low to possess himself of the best territory of this country, and who abhors to the death its race and its religion.[9]

"If the means which I propose be not speedily adopted, your Excellency may be assured that, before another year, the Californians will form a part of the American Nation. Their Catholic institutions will become the prey of the Methodist wolves, and the whole country will be inundated with the cruel invaders; whilst I propose the means of repelling them, my propositions ought to be the more admissable, inasmuch as I have no personal interest in the affair, save the progress of the holy Religion of God and the happiness of my countrymen.

"As for the fidelity and adhesion of these to the Mexican Government, I answer with my life; and, according as may be drawn a sufficient number of colonists (at least ten thousand men), I am of the opinion, and I can assure with certainty, that this number will be sufficient to repel at the same time the secret intrigues and the open attacks of the American usurpers.[10] I have the honor, etc., Eugene McNamara, Apost. Mis."

In reply, the Rev. Eugene McNamara received the follow-

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[8] The United States, of course. The intrigue of artful and base England itself is too patent in the whole McNamara transaction. For that reason the details are given here.

[9] The action of the United States officers under order from President Polk completely disproves this statement.

[10] Here we have a sample of British intrigues against nations whose territory was found desirable. England desired California, and this was the method she adopted here.

ing note: "Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government and Policy.—Mexico, January 19, 1846.—Having heard the opinion of the Council on the project of colonization in California, presented by you to the Supreme Government, the Government, in accordance with the opinion of that body, has determined that, in view of the necessity which exists

PASSAGE WAY BETWEEN THE TOWERS.

for some effective measures on that subject and on other concessions, proper for the action of the legislature (of California), the matter will be referred, together with your memorial, to the chambers (of California). I state this to you for your information, remarking that the subject will thus be attended to in a convenient time.—God and Liberty. —Castillo y Lanzas."

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Rev. E. McNamara Goes to California.—Presents Petition to Pio Pico.—Referred to Assembly for Approval.—Land Grant by Pico Approved.—Dates Falsified.—A Correction.—McNamara's Real Mission.—Disappears in English Warship.—Pico's Call to Arms.—Commodore Stockton Raises United States Flag at Santa Barbara.—Los Angeles Captured.—Colonel Fremont at Santa Barbara.—Los Angeles Surrendered.—Congressional Committee's Investigation into the Movements of Fremont.—The Witnesses.—The Garrison at Santa Barbara Retreats to Monterey.—Fremont and His Men's Heroic Expedition Across the Sierra.

WHEN the Rev. Eugene McNamara had received the communication from the Mexican Minister of Relations, Joaquin Castillo y Lanzas, which shifted the responsibility to the California legislators, he hastened to California, and on July 1, 1846, at Santa Barbara, presented to Pio Pico the following document:

"Eugene McNamara, native of Ireland, Catholic priest and Missionary Apostolic, respectfully represents to your Excellency that he has arrived in this department with the object of undertaking the establishment of a colony of his countrymen here, to which end he has received the benign co-operation of the Venerable and Illustrious Archbishop of Mexico and the cordial recognition of the Supreme Government, who have recommended me to come in person to this department to select land adapted to the said object exhibited to your Excellency, my object of colonization with the customary formalities. I have the honor to present to your Excellency my plan which is, in substance, as follows:

"I contract with the government to introduce into this department in the shortest time possible two thousand Catholic Irish families, industrious and sober, the whole of whose number would be ten thousand souls, who, as soon as they arrived, would consider themselves bound by and subject to the established laws, and to lend their services to the legitimate government in defense of California against all enemies who might invade her, maintain internal peace, and, in fine, dedicate their efforts to the prosperity and advancement of this country.

"I solicit, then, that your Excellency will be pleased to adjudicate

to me in ownership the land selected between the River San Joaquin, from its source to its mouth, and the Sierra Nevada. The limits being the River Consumne on the north, and on the south, the extremity of the Tulares, in the neighborhood of San Gabriel.[1]

"I beg your Excellency will be pleased to look favorably on my proposition, and to give the order that I have asked, which will undoubtedly tend to the happiness of California, and in a great measure to fulfil my ardent desires to propagate the holy Religion we profess, and at the same time to be useful to my countrymen.—Eugene McNamara, Mis. Apost."

On the margin of this petition Pico wrote:

"Santa Barbara, July 1, 1846.—Sent to the Excellent Departmental Assembly that it may be pleased to give its advice upon this matter of the petition, and afterwards to return it to this Government for its final action.—Pico."

Pico had already recommended the project to be accepted, as is clear from the Assembly's action, which reads as follows:

"Assembly of the Department of the Californias, Los Angeles, July 7, 1846.[2]—Most Excellent Sir: Accompanying this is sent to your Excellency a copy of the report of the special committee, approved by this Honorable Assembly, in an extraordinary session of this day, relative to the project of colonization, presented to your Excellency by the Señor, priest Don Eugene MacNamara; and your Excellency is informed that this body agrees with the sentiments expressed by your Excellency in your official note of the 24 of June last,[3] expressing your opinion and the great

1 McNamara had never seen these lands. Some one must have prompted him.

2 On that very day the United States flag was hoisted on the custom house, Monterey.

3 McNamara's petition was not dated till July 1, while Pico's note on the margin thereof was dated July 1. Presently, we shall see that Pico issued his concession on July 4, three days *before* the above reply of the assembly, which is dated July 7, 1846. There was in those days much juggling with dates on state papers concerning grants of Mission lands. It was proved in court that some had been antedated by Pio Pico himself.

desire that the said enterprise should be carried into effect. I have the honor to communicate it to your Excellency, according to a resolution of the Honorable Assembly, and in reply to your note above mentioned; and at the same time to renew the most sincere considerations of my esteem. God and Liberty.—Francisco Figueroa, President (of the Assembly), Narciso Botella, Second Vocal."

Pico's concession begins as follows: "Pio Pico, Constitutional Governor of the Department of California.—Whereas the priest, Don Eugene MacNamara, has applied for a grant of land for the purpose of establishing a colony of Irish families, to be apportioned in the interior, etc. . . . Having first made the diligent examination required by the laws and regulations of colonization, using the powers which are conferred upon me, in the name of the Mexican Nation, and in accordance with the advice of the Departmental Assembly,[4] I hereby concede for colonization of Irish families, etc."

Since nothing came of the plan, the United States heading off the British, it is useless to quote the entire document. Only the conclusion is of importance. It reads: "Given at Santa Barbara, on common paper, on account of not having any that is stamped, this *fourth* day of the month of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.—Pio Pico.—Recorded, etc.—José Maria Moreno, Secretary ad interim."

Here we have a discrepancy of dates that might be deemed accidental were it not that the United States Courts discovered many others with which Pio Pico was concerned at the time.

In our fourth volume (page 549) of *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* we have expressed doubt concerning some of the expressions contained in the petition

[4] Which he could not possibly have had, because he set out for Santa Inés on July 6, whereas the assembly took no action till July 7. See *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 550.

of the Rev. Eugene McNamara, as found in Upham's *Life of Fremont;* and we declared that "until exact copies of the original documents with dates and signatures appear or the sources are indicated, we shall regard these statements as interpolations." Since the publication of that volume of ours, through the kindly interest of Hon. Judge Grant Jackson of Los Angeles, we have been able to examine the Government Report of the *California Claims,* Senate, Eighth Congress, 1st Session, Rep. Com., No. 75. Here we found that Fremont's statements were correct. The volume contains the entire report regarding the Memorial of John Charles Fremont's claim against the United States for money and supplies furnished for the use of the United States, and for which the faith of the Government was pledged.

During the investigation, Colonel Fremont presented the McNamara Papers "taken by him from the Californian authorities, Los Angeles." The original Spanish text was presented and also a translation made by Fremont or at his request. Copies of the documents are before us in both Spanish and English.

The Congressional Committee's investigation of various witnesses named show that McNamara was a British agent; that he labored in conjunction with James Alexander Forbes, the British vice-consul; that in Mexico McNamara had, under the auspices of the British Legation, projected a plan to colonize California with emigrants from Ireland; that McNamara lived in the family of either the British consul or *charge des affaires* in Mexico; and that McNamara arrived at Monterey in the British vessel *Juno* about the middle of June, 1846, and on June 17, in the same ship sailed for Santa Barbara. His personal papers were in regular order, since the Administrator of the Diocese, Fr. González Rúbio, granted him the usual faculties. When McNamara had secured the land grant from Pico, he went to Monterey; but there he discovered that the United States had taken possession on July 7. Then, on July 23, he took

passage in the British flagship *Collinwood* for the Sandwich Islands. Thereafter no more was heard of him and of his plan.

On July 6, 1846, as already noted, Pio Pico followed his brother Andrés by way of Mission Santa Inés. The two "armies" of Pio Pico and José Castro, each about one hundred men strong, met and united at Santa Margarita, nine miles north of Mission San Luis Obispo. Here he learned the details of the raising of the United States flag at Monterey. This induced both commanders, who had been joined by Juan B. Alvarado, to begin the retreat for Los Angeles. On reaching Santa Barbara, July 16, just nine days after the Stars and Stripes had been raised at Monterey, Pio Pico issued an appeal for aid to repel the intruders, and then declared: "I have determined to decree for strict observance the following articles:

1. All Mexican citizens, native and naturalized, residing in this department, are required by duty to defend the country when, as now, the national independence is in danger. Therefore, every man without exception, from the age of fifteen to sixty, will present himself armed to the departmental government to defend the just cause.

2. Sub-prefects, through the alcaldes, etc., will at once cause lists of men, their ages, etc., to be formed in each municipality.

3. Without waiting for the formation of these lists, citizens will present themselves immediately.

4. Any Mexican refusing or excusing himself under any pretext will be dealt with as a traitor.

5. Those who are physically unable to serve in person must aid with their property. All will be indemnified by the National Government in due time.

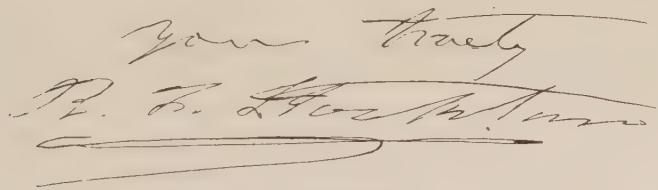
6. Sub-prefects will be held responsible for the strict execution of this decree."[5]

"There were no signs of popular enthusiasm for the cause," says Bancroft. "Subordinate local authorities issued their routine orders in a spirit of apathy. Few inhabitants rendered more implicit obedience than they were obliged to by fear or pride. . . . On August 4, José Castro with

[5] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 556-557.

a part of his following established his camp at La Mesa, about one league southeast of Los Angeles, leaving Andrés Pico and Manuel Castro in command of the remainder." [6]

In the meantime, Commodore R. F. Stockton, with three hundred and sixty marines and seamen, in the *Congress* sailed from Monterey, on August 1, 1846, and stopped at Santa Barbara to raise the Stars and Stripes. He left a small garrison and then continued the voyage to San Pedro, where he landed on August 6. Such is the statement made by both Hittel[7] and Bancroft. The latter surmises that the flag may have been raised on the 4th or 5th of August. He mentions also Midshipman William Mitchell as head of



FACSIMILE OF STOCKTON'S SIGNATURE.

the garrison of ten men. The historian remarks, however: "Strangely, I find no definite record of the date, or of any circumstances connected with the event." When the Americans had reached San Pedro, Pico and Castro, on August 10, disbanded their small forces at Los Angeles and in the following night they started out for Mexican territory.[8]

On August 11, Stockton commenced the march for Los Angeles and, on Thursday, August 13, with Colonel J. C. Fremont, who had come up from San Diego, he took possession of Pico's capital. Placing Lieutenant A. H. Gillespie with fifty men of Fremont's battalion in command of Los Angeles, Stockton, on September 5, re-embarked for San Francisco. On September 7, he took on board the *Congress*

6 *California,* vol. v, p. 265.

7 *History of California,* vol. ii, p. 283.

8 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 558-560.

Mitchell and his men whom he is said to have left at Santa Barbara on August 3 or 4.

Meanwhile Colonel Fremont with the remainder of his battalion began his march for the north. At Santa Barbara he left Lieutenant Theodore Talbot with nine men as a garrison to replace the men taken away on the *Congress*.[9] Unfortunately, no dates are supplied by any authority.

Less than a month after the departure of Stockton, Gillespie's imprudence caused a revolt at Los Angeles. On September 30, he was compelled to surrender; but he was permitted to embark for Monterey. With about two hundred men, Manuel Garcías was sent by the insurgent general, José M. Flores, to retake Santa Barbara. What followed is best told in the words of the witnesses who testified at Washington before the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, in Fremont's *California Claims Case*.

Questions to Eugene Russell and Thomas E. Breckenridge.—Were you both a part of Fremont's topographical corps on his last and third expedition; and were you, also, a part of the California battalion?

Answer—We were; we went with the then Captain Fremont from Missouri, and were with him in the operations with American settlers in establishing independence; and, afterwards, in the first expedition to Los Angeles, by sea as far as San Diego, when Commodore Stockton was commander-in-chief; and, afterwards, in the second expedition to Los Angeles, under the immediate command of Colonel Fremont by land from near Monterey in the winter of 1846 and 1847.

Question—When and how did you join Colonel Fremont in the march with his battalion from near Monterey to Los Angeles; and what do you know of the services rendered by said battalion?

Answer—After the first conquest of Los Angeles, in August, 1846, we were part of the force that returned towards the north under Colonel Fremont; and, at Santa Barbara, at the request of the inhabitants, he left us and eight more as a garrison. The other eight were Theodore Talbott, Charles Scriver, William Chinock, an Indian lad of the Chinock tribe, John Stevens, a French creole of the name of Durand, and one other French creole by the name of Joseph Moulton, Francis Briggs, and a New Mexican Spaniard of the name of Manuel. Except three, Durand, Stevens, and Manuel, we were all about twenty years of age. In less than two weeks after he left, we got news of

[9] Hittell, vol. ii, p. 588; Bancroft, vol. v, p. 287.

SANTA BARBARA AND VICINITY IN 1870. THE MISSION AT A DISTANCE TO THE LEFT.

the insurrection at Los Angeles, and the success of the insurgents to the south of us, and were assured that we should be attacked. The first intelligence of our danger we received from the ladies of Santa Barbara, who urged us to escape, and when we refused, they offered to conceal us.[10] In a few days a considerable mounted force appeared, said by themselves to be two hundred and fifty, but, as we afterwards learned, about one hundred and fifty; and a written summons signed by Flores, commander-in-chief of the Mexican forces, was sent to us to surrender, with a promise to spare our lives, and let us go on parole, and two hours allowed for us to decide; it was then near dusk. The American residents of Santa Barbara came in and recommended us to surrender, saying it was impossible for us to escape; one of them, named Sparks, from St. Louis, said, at the fire of the first gun, we might count him one; he afterwards joined Colonel Fremont. We determined not to surrender, and to make our way to the mountains, a spur of which came down to the town. In about half an hour we started—the moon shining—and soon approached a small picket guard, which gave way and let us pass. We then gained the mountains, and relied on our rifles to keep off both men and cavalry. We stayed eight days on the mountains in sight of Santa Barbara watching for some American vessel to approach to the coast. We suffered greatly for provisions, and attempted to take cattle or sheep in the night from Santa Barbara, but, for want of a lasso, could only get a lean, old, white mare, which was led up on the mountains and killed for food; it was all eaten up. Despairing of relief by sea, and certain we could not reach Colonel Fremont in the north by going through the settled country, we undertook to cross the mountains, nearly east, into the San Joaquin Valley, and through the Tulares (Bullrush) Indians, thus making a circuit of nearly five hundred miles. Before we left our camp in the mountains, the insurgents attempted to burn us out, by setting fire to the mountains around us; and once sent a foreigner to us to urge us to surrender, but we would not. They did not often venture near enough for us to fire on them, but would circle around us on the heights and curse us in Spanish; when we had any chance of hitting, we fired and saw once a horse fall. It took us three days to cross the ridge of the mountains, during which time we had nothing but rosebuds to eat. The ascent was so steep, rocky, and bushy, that at one time it took us half a night to gain about three hundred

[10] "Here let me remark, that nothing has surprised me so much, in my little intercourse with the Mexicans, as the humanity and charity of the women, as compared with the almost brutal ferocity of the men. You will recollect that Kendall sustains the same opinion with reference to the Santa Fe expedition." (Lieut. Talbot, Letter, January 15, 1847, in J. M. Cutts, *Conquest*, 157.)

yards; after crossing the first mountain, we fell in with an old Spanish soldier at a rancho (San Marcos), who gave us two horses, dried beef for our support, and became our guide over the intervening mountains, about eighty miles wide, to the San Joaquin valley. We pursued that valley down towards the Monterey settlements, where we expected to find Colonel Fremont, and did so, after being thirty-four days from Santa Barbara, and traveling at least five hundred miles. Colonel Fremont was just ready to march with his battalion to the south; we took our places in it, and had a share in all the operations of the battalion, and know that it rendered great service in pacifying the country, and obtaining the capitulation of Cowenga. On the march down we suffered much from cold winter rains, and lost horses every day, and in crossing the Santa Barbara mountains. We came through Santa Barbara on our return, and were joyfully received by our old acquaintances there; they thought us all dead, for the mountain had never been crossed before, at that place that we went over, and those who examined an old camp in the mountains, after we left, finding there some bones of the old mare, reported them to be our bones, and all that was left of us after the attempt to burn us out. The people of Santa Barbara, generally, and the compassionate ladies, especially, showed real joy at seeing us alive, and hospitably treated us while the battalion stopped in passing their town.

R. E. Russell,
T. E. Breckenridge.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 23d day of February, 1848.—Lewis Cass.[11]

Hon. Lewis Cass was chairman of the Military Affairs Committee.

In a letter dated Los Angeles, January 15, 1847, two days after the remnants of the Californians under Andrés Pico surrendered at the Rancho of Cahuenga, near Mission San Fernando, Cutts relates that "on the 27th (of December) Colonel Fremont arrived at Santa Barbara, where he caused the American flag to be hoisted with much ceremony by Lieutenant Talbot and the nine men who had before refused to surrender at that place, the principal authorities of the town being required to be present. This march, in mid-winter, was one of very great hardship. Both men and

11 *Executive Documents, Committee of Military Affairs, 30th Congress, First Session, Senate,* No. 75, pp. 52-54.

horses suffered exceedingly. On Christmas day, the battalion lost, in crossing the Santa Barbara mountains, from a hundred and fifty to two hundred horses. The artillery was

CENTENNIAL OF MISSION SANTA BARBARA, DECEMBER 4, 1886. ARCH ON STATE AND FIGUEROA STREETS. CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF SORROWS TO THE RIGHT.

brought over by hand, engaging at one time over one hundred men at the ropes."[12]

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12 Cutts, *Conquest*, pp. 161-162.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Santa Barbara Garrisoned by United States Troops.—An Erratic Officer.—Correspondence.—El Cañon Perdido.—The Story in Detail.—Forced Contribution.—Colonel Stevenson's Wise Action.—A Jolly Fourth of July.—Use Made of the Money.

A REGIMENT of volunteers, recruited in New York during the year 1846 by order of the United States Government, arrived at San Francisco on March 6, 1847, in command of Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson. Three companies were assigned to garrison Santa Barbara, and they arrived there on April 8 in the *Moscow*. The commander was Lieutenant-Colonel Henry S. Burton, who with two companies sailed for La Paz on July 4, 1847, leaving Captain Francis J. Lippett with Company F in command at Santa Barbara. The company remained here until it was mustered out on September 8, 1848.[1]

Captain Lippett heard that the Californians were about to attack his post. He therefore sent Mr. Sparks to Monterey to explain the danger. The governor, Colonel J. B. Mason, a cool and broad-minded man, such as was needed in the territory at the time, went on the *Dale* to Santa Barbara. "I reached that place," he reported, "on the evening of the 25th of July, and took quarters with Captain Lippett, in the same building with the garrison of the town. I remained there eight days, and became fully satisfied that there were no just grounds to apprehend a popular outbreak, and that if threats to that effect had been made, they were nothing more than the expression of the natural feelings resulting from the bad conduct of some of the men composing the garrison. These I caused to be tried by a general court

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1 Bancroft, vol. v, pp. 513-515.

martial or military commission, and to be punished as their cases merited."[2]

Lippett seems to have been a fidgety character, and quick to find fault with the civilians. It was well for the peace of the territory that such a man did not hold the office of Colonel Mason. The latter found occasion to administer a stinging rebuke to the captain which action, at all events, does honor to Colonel Mason's sense of justice. The letter reads as follows:

Headquarters, Tenth Military Dept.,
Monterey, California, June 11, 1848.

Sir:—In reply to that part of your letter of the 2d instant relative to keeping in confinement the civil prisoners, I have only to say that, situated as is the civil magistrate of Santa Barbara, he must be sustained and assisted by the military, or his authority and efforts to preserve order and sustain the laws will be entirely defeated. You must therefore continue, as heretofore, to receive his prisoners; and I trust that they may not be allowed to escape, at least so frequently as they have done, which, I think, they could not if the guards were vigilant and attentive to their duties. When I was last at your post, I frequently observed the grossest negligence on the part of your sentinels and guard. I hope this has been corrected, and that you will rigidly enforce the strictest letter of the regulations in respect to guard duties; prisoners cannot escape even from tents, much less from a guard-house, if the guard are on the alert, and strict in the discharge of their duties. I am inclined to think that your company has been too long at Santa Barbara, and that your men would improve in their guard duties by an exchange with one of the companies at regimental headquarters. I am, respectfully your obedient servant.

R. B. Mason,
Col. 1st Dragoons, Commanding.

To Captain F. J. Lippett,
Commanding, Santa Barbara, California.[3]

In another case, a month later, Lippett was again called to terms, as the following two documents demonstrate:

State Department of the Territory of California,
Monterey, July 25, 1848.

Sir:—The commanding officer at Santa Barbara has been directed by the governor to restore to you the alcalde's staff of office, the key

[2] Col. Mason to Adjt. Gen., Washington, Sept. 18, 1847. *Executive Doc., No. 17*, p. 336.

[3] *Ex. Doc., No. 17, Halleck's Report*, p. 565.

of the juzgado, and the saddle claimed by José Carillo and one of the soldiers of Captain Lippett's command, the saddle to be disposed of by you according to justice. Cases of offences committed by soldiers are to be tried only by military commissions, and cannot be taken cognizance of by the civil tribunals; but in all matters of trade or traffic between citizens and soldiers, military officers will, except in very extraordinary cases, allow the civil law to take its ordinary course.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. Halleck,
Lieutenant of Engineers, and Secretary of State.

Don Pedro C. Carrillo,
First Alcalde, Santa Barbara, California.

State Department of the Territory of California,

Monterey, July 25, 1848.

Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, with the accompanying papers. It appears from these papers that, on the morning of the 15th instant, the first alcalde of Santa Barbara caused a saddle claimed as the property of José Carillo to be taken from the house of one Badillo and carried to the juzgado for judicial decision in the case; that, without waiting for this decision, you immediately ordered the alcalde to deliver this saddle into the hands of Sergeant Mullory, "to remain in your possession until proof was furnished you that no officer or soldier of your command had any just claim upon it"; that the alcalde, being at dinner at the time, promised to attend to the matter on his return to the juzgado; that soon afterwards, and while the alcalde was engaged in the judicial examination of the case, you sent a sergeant and file of men with peremptory order that, if the property was not immediately given up, the alcalde be brought as prisoner to the guard-house and kept in confinement until the saddle was delivered over to you; that, after receiving this saddle, you informed the alcalde that it would be given over by you to the person judged entitled to it by any civil court or magistrate after a fair trial, provided the alcalde did not sit as judge on the case himself, he being a near relation of one of the parties claiming the property; that thereupon the alcalde resigned his office, turning over to you his staff and the key to the juzgado.

The governor, upon a full examination of these papers, directs me to say that he regards your proceedings as too hasty, being calculated to interfere with the due administration of justice, and to give unnecessary offense to a civil officer of the territorial government. He therefore orders that you immediately restore to the alcalde of Santa Bar-

bara his staff of office, the key of the juzgado, and the saddle in dispute.

It is made obligatory, by the orders of the government, upon all military officers to pursue a mild and conciliatory course towards the civil magistrates and people of this country, and threats of imprisonment or an armed force should not be resorted to, except under very aggravated circumstances, or in case of absolute necessity.

Cases of offenses committed by soldiers against the person or property of citizens can be tried only by military commissions; but, in matters of trade or traffic between citizens and soldiers, commanding officers (except in extraordinary cases, to be immediately reported to headquarters) will allow the civil law to take its ordinary course.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. Halleck,
Lieutenant of Engineers, Secretary of State.

Captain F. J. Lippett,
Commanding, Santa Barbara, California.[4]

Another affair, which happened earlier in the year, looks very much like a practical joke played on the irascible Lippett by a few Californians;[5] but it had an aftermath that the citizens did not relish. We give the story as related by Colonel Stevenson himself and published in a Santa Barbara newspaper some time in 1882. Stevenson was then eighty-three years of age and living at San Francisco.

"Late in the winter of 1847, or early in 1848," he relates, "the American brig *Elisabeth* was wrecked on the coast of Santa Barbara, and soon went to pieces. Among the property saved was a gun, which remained on the beach long after all of the remaining property had been removed. Being without its carriage, the gun was useless. Early in the month of May[6] it disappeared. After some time had elapsed, Captain Lippett, the officer in command of the Post, conceived the idea that it had been stolen by the Californians for the purpose of attacking his quarters, in case the dis-

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[4] Ex. Doc., No. 17, *Halleck's Report*, pp. 575-576.

[5] According to Bancroft they were José E. García, Jose Antonio de la Guerra, son of Captain De la Guerra, José Lugo, José Dolores García, and Pacifico Cota.—*California*, vol. v, pp. 587-588.

[6] Halleck (*Ex. Doc., No. 17*, p. 615) says it was on April 5, 1848.

affected natives should rebel against the authorities. Inquiry was made at every point, but the gun could not be found. As a number of vessels had touched at Santa Barbara in the meantime, it was readily concluded that it had been taken aboard and transferred beyond reach of Captain Lippett's command. This officer, though a good soldier, was a nervous, restless man, very deficient in judgment and tact. Either from real fear of an attack or to exhibit his watchfulness and zeal in the performance of duty, without notifying his superior officer, Colonel Stevenson, he sent a courier to Colonel Mason at Monterey, at a cost of $400, giving his version of the loss of the gun, magnifying its value and the danger inevitable from its possession by the Californians.

"Colonel Mason, being some 400 miles distant, and unaware of the weak and excitable temperament of Captain Lippett, immediately issued the following military order:

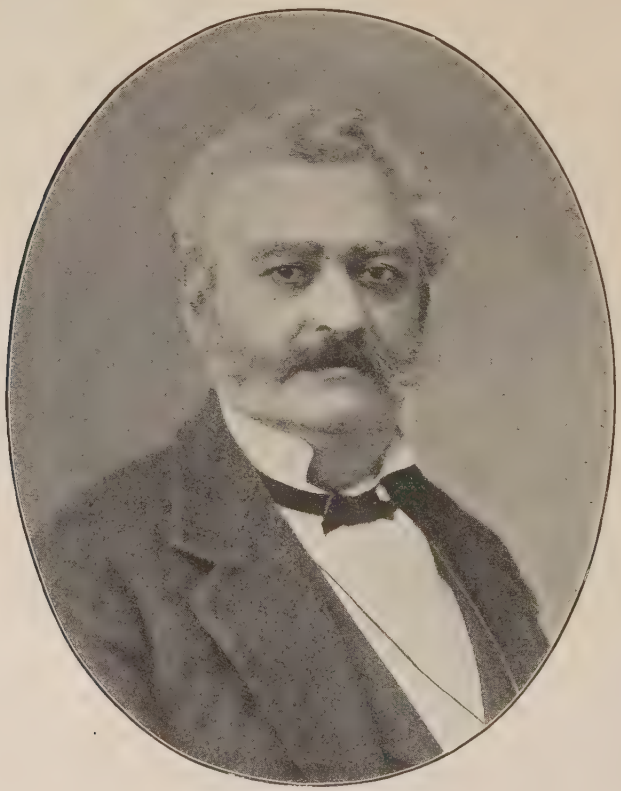
Headquarters 10th Military Dept.,
Monterey, Cal., May 31, 1848.

(Order No. 36.)

A gun belonging to the wreck of the American brig *Elisabeth*, having been stolen from the beach at Santa Barbara, Cal., and ample time having been allowed to the citizens of said town to discover and produce said gun, and they having failed to do so, it is ordered that the town be laid under a contribution of $500, to be assessed in the following manner: 1. A capitation tax of two dollars on all males over twenty years of age. The balance to be paid by the heads of families and property holders, in the proportion of the value of their respective real and personal estate, in the town of Santa Barbara and its immediate vicinity. 2. Col. J. D. Stevenson, commanding S. M. District, will direct the appraisement of the property, and assessment of this contribution, and will repair to Santa Barbara on or before the 25th of June, when, if the missing gun is not produced, he will cause the said contribution to be paid in before the first day of July. When the whole is collected he will turn it over to the A. A. Quartermaster of the Post, to be held for further orders. 3. Should any person fail to pay his capitation or share of assessment, enough of his property will be seized and sold at public auction to realize the amount of contribution due by him and costs of sale.

By order of Col. R. B. Mason. (Signed) W. T. Sherman, 1st Lieutenant 3d Art.; A. A. Adj. General.

"Thus, a quiet and inoffensive people were placed under censure and an unjustifiable contribution levied upon those who for two years had been upon the most friendly terms with all the American authorities of the District. Upon receiving this order, Colonel Stevenson felt that the peace



DON PABLO DE LA GUERRA.

and quiet of the country were endangered by the fears and folly of a nervous and fidgety official. However, he could but obey, and carry out the order in the least offensive manner, and he accordingly issued an order to Captain Lippett directing him to make out a roll of all persons subject to the assessment under the order of Colonel Mason,

together with the valuation of the property of the principal inhabitants, and to prepare an Assessment Roll. Cautioning him to be most careful in his action, to give as little offense as possible, and to make known that upon Stevenson's arrival he would examine carefully the assessment, and would impose as small a burden as the order of General Mason would allow. This order was issued June 15th, and Colonel Stevenson left Los Angeles for Santa Barbara, reaching there the 23rd. Immediately on his arrival he held an interview with Don Pablo de la Guerra, a son of one of the most respected gentlemen in California. He was a native of old Spain and held a commission in the Spanish army at the time Mexico was separated from Spain. He resided in Santa Barbara surrounded by a family of sons and daughters, universally considered the best and most accomplished men and women in the country. They spoke and wrote English with ease and fluency. And the eldest, Don Pablo, subsequently distinguished himself as a member of the assembly of the State of California, and at the time of his death was Judge of his District.

"To Judge Pablo Colonel Stevenson expressed his regret at the ridiculous course Captain Lippett had taken. At first he was very indignant, and said he greatly feared the people would not pay the assessment. But he assured Colonel Stevenson that they all understood his position in the matter, and that nothing would induce them to comply except as a mark of personal respect for him. The conversation was long and interesting and Colonel Stevenson finally obtained his promise to use his best efforts to have the affair peacefully settled. As they were parting, Don Pablo said significantly, 'Colonel, is not the headquarters of a regiment wherever the commander may be, if he chooses to have it so?' and he then added, 'Since you are likely to be here for some time, can not you make this your headquarters and order your band up here?' adding also, that 'the people of Santa Barbara have never heard a band of

music, and he knew of nothing that would afford them so much pleasure.'

"Colonel Stevenson instantly comprehended his meaning, and soon an order was issued making Santa Barbara the Regimental Headquarters, and ordering the band thither, having them arrive on the 3rd of July.

"Colonel Stevenson perceived that the difficulty in the matter of the gun might be solved by delaying the call for the military assessment until the 4th of July, and having the band arrive the evening previous playing a Spanish National air as they entered the town. In the meantime Colonel Stevenson spent most of his time visiting the inhabitants, and it was only too evident that their indignation against Captain Lippett was such that his life was in danger.

"One of the oldest inhabitants, Captain Egerea, the owner of a fine bark then ready for a voyage to the lower coast, notified Captain Lippett that he was about to leave the port. An order was at once served forbidding him, and threatening to attach his bark as security for his portion of the military contribution. This was about the most ridiculous instance of Captain Lippett's folly, for Egerea owned property in town to the value of $20,000. The threatened seizure of the bark drove the old man crazy, and had not Colonel Stevenson arrived at this juncture, it would have gone hard with Captain Lippett. Ten minutes after his arrival, Don Pablo and Egerea called on the Colonel, and stated the case of the detention of the vessel. Captain Lippett was ordered to apologize, and was laughed at as he was going aboard for the purpose.

"Promptly, as ordered, the full Regimental Band from Los Angeles reached Carpintería at 3 p. m., July 3rd. Instructions were issued to enter the town at dusk, and march to the residence of Captain De la Guerra, and open the serenade at his door, with their best known Spanish air. Their arrival happened while the family were at dinner. The first note startled the entire town. The citizens rushed to the streets, and a more enraptured people never were beheld. In

the midst of the serenade Colonel Stevenson called on Don Pablo, and received the warmest thanks of himself and family for the high compliment bestowed on them for the Spanish airs. Above all, the Captain (José de la Guerra) thanked him, his tears manifesting the intensity of his emotion. The band continued playing about the town, in front of the French consul's residence, at the Church, and the Barracks, until near midnight.

"The morning of the 4th was ushered in by the band, and by the firing of small arms, there being no artillery. The payment of the contribution had been fixed at 10 o'clock, and, as had been anticipated, in consequence of the enthusiasm created by the presence of the band with their inspiring strains, the inhabitants cheerfully tendered their assessments, with but a few exceptions. While the payments were being made, the assembled citizens requested Colonel Stevenson to deliver an oration. With this he promptly complied, and the oration was readily and clearly interpreted by Dr. Foster, now resident of Los Angeles. The day was delightfully passed, and in the evening a ball was held in his honor, and for the happy termination of the trouble which had threatened in consequence of Lippett's absurd actions. The whole community enjoyed the music and festivities, and when Colonel Stevenson was about to depart, the entire population turned out to do him honor; and the venerable Captain De la Guerra most kindly addressed him in his native language, and was answered for him by Andrés Pico, who at his request had joined him at Santa Barbara. It is interesting to know that upon an order being issued to turn over to the Mexican authorities the money thus absurdly demanded, they refused to accept any portion of it. Eventually it was handed over to some American officer authorized to receive it. The memory of this has been preserved by the citizens of Santa Barbara by naming the street which runs past the theatre, Cañon Perdído—the Lost Cannon."[7]

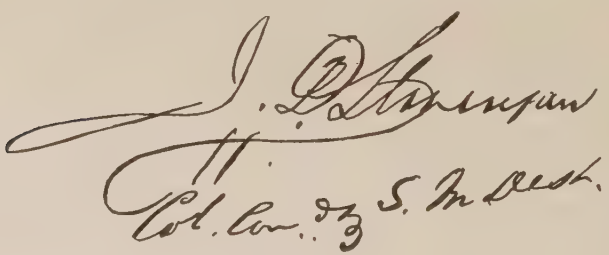
[7] *De la Guerra Papers.*

The following document concerns the money collected and the uses to be made of it.

State Department of the Territory of California.

Monterey, August 7, 1848.

Sir:—Colonel Mason directs that the money collected from the citizens of Santa Barbara as a military contribution,[8] imposed for the disappearance and concealment at that place of a gun belonging to the brig *Elisabeth*, will be turned over to the first alcalde of Santa Barbara, to be held by him as a municipal fund, and used for the purchase or erection of a prison, etc, as was suggested to the alcalde



in a former communication from this office. The alcalde will receipt to you for this money, and be held accountable that it is properly expended for the purpose designated. You will show him this letter.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. Halleck,

Lieutenant of Engineers, and Secretary of State.

To Captain F. J. Lippett,

Commanding, &c., Santa Barbara, California.[9]

"Ten years later," we learn from Bancroft, "the cannon was found. Five men had dragged it away in the surf by the aid of a yoke of oxen, and buried it in the sand of the beach."[10]

Governor Mason had quite properly forbidden the sale of liquor to the Indians. To this sane regulation the alcalde of Santa Barbara, apparently Luis Carrillo, on December 11,

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[8] "This is the first contribution ever imposed in California," Halleck writes on May 31, 1848.—*Ex. Doc., No. 17*, p. 615.

[9] *Ex. Doc., No. 17*, p. 591.

[10] *California*, vol. v, p. 587.

1847, objected, if Bancroft quotes correctly.[11] The alcalde criticized the decree and confessed that he had not enforced it. Moderate drinking, he said, is good for working men, and the Indians will not work for anything else. The abuse of liquor is what should be punished. The whites, moreover, behave worse in this respect than the Indians.

The following document speaks for itself:

Headquarters Southern Military District, California.
Santa Barbara, July 6, 1848.

Don Pedro Carillo, 1st alcalde of Santa Barbara, is hereby authorized to take possession of any portion of the buildings known as the presidio of Santa Barbara, not occupied for Church purposes, or inhabited by any of the families of the old soldiers of "Spain," or "Mexico," but said buildings are only to be used by Don Pedro and his successors in office for public purposes.

J. D. Stevenson,
Colonel Commanding S. M. Dept., California.[12]

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11 *California*, p. 631.

12 *Thompson Collection*, Santa Barbara.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Object of the Missionaries.—Means Adopted.—The Mission Registers.—Entries in the Baptismal Register. — Numerous Applicants. — The Missionaries Overworked.—Names Applied.—The Channel Islands.—Converts Join the Mission on the Mainland.—Last Baptism in the Old Church.—First Baptism at the Presidio.—First Baptism at the Mission.—Prominent White Converts.—A Negro Convert.—Notable Entry.

THE narrative on the Mission Period of Santa Barbara Mission has drawn to a close. It was the material side that chiefly engaged our attention thus far. The essential feature, the spiritual side, for the sake of avoiding confusion, was not emphasized. That must be done now, lest the readers carry away an altogether erroneous impression with regard to the object as well as the results of the missionary labors. Did we stop here, it might well be inferred, as many superficial writers, who have no conception of Catholic missionary aims, actually declare, that the whole undertaking had ended in failure. The Fathers came animated with a lively zeal for the eternal salvation of the savage natives. Being men of experience and common sense, they wisely adopted such means as appealed to the grossly material character of the Indians in order to introduce and render palatable the spiritual message they brought along. What has been related, in the main, pictures these material means employed by the missionaries to accomplish their real object. What is wanted to comprehend the spiritual activity and its results will now be briefly extracted from the Mission Registers, veritable storehouses abounding with interesting information.

The Registers, in blank, were brought from Mexico, and were uniform for all the Missions. Generally the pages measured 8 by 11¼ inches. All were bound in flexible leather in such a manner that one side of the cover over-

lapped the other, where it was fastened with two leather strings or two leather buttons. The title page on the second folio or leaf always indicated the number of leaves contained in the volume. Thus, for instance, Fr. Lasuén, after noting the history of the founding of the Mission, closes with the remark at the bottom of the page: "This book consists of 392 pages for use, which are numbered, except the first and the last, which remain blank."

By order of the Missionary College of San Fernando de Mexico, which supplied the missionaries for California, every Mission, besides the local account books, had to keep in use six volumes, as follows: 1. Baptismal Register, 2. Marriage Register, 3. Burial Register, 4. Confirmation Register, 5. Libro de Patentes in which were transcribed the Circulars of the Higher Superiors, 6. Padron or Roll, in which were arranged in alphabetical order the names of the neophytes, rancherías where they were born, date of birth, and date of Baptism.

At Santa Barbara, since the founding of the Mission, two sets of Registers were kept, one for the presidio or town, the other for the Mission. Both these sets are still extant, the one at the rectory of the parish in the City of Santa Barbara, the other at the Old Mission. The presidio Register for the white people was begun by Fr. Junípero Serra, that of the Mission by Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, his successor as Presidente of the California Missions. In chapter iii, this volume, the reader will find the English version of the title page of the Baptismal Register, and of the first three entries. On the margin of every entry is always noted the number in the list and the name given in Baptism, besides the place of birth.

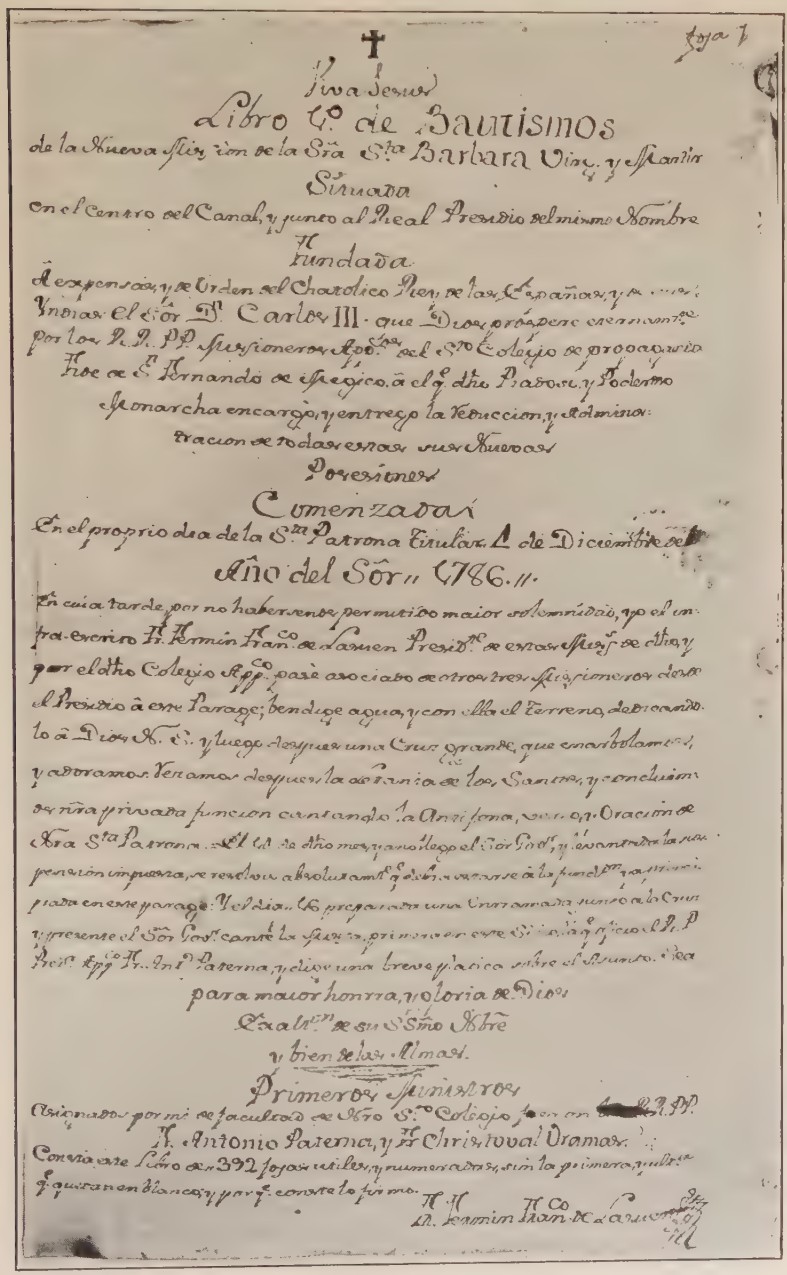
Frequently, in connection with the entries, very important notes or remarks are made which throw considerable light on prevailing conditions or local happenings. The first note of this kind is found in entry number 783, made on April 15 (middle of April), 1794. Here Fr. Lasuén records the fact that is found nowhere else. He writes: "In the new

church of this Mission, blessed and solemnly dedicated on the day of the Most Glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, the nineteenth of the last month (March), in which till now the most holy Baptism has not been administered, I solemnly baptized a male infant born that same day, the legitimate son of Simeon Maria and Mauricia, a neophyte of this Mission. The godfather was Luis, an Indian of the Mission."

Time and again we find that large numbers of Indians would receive Baptism on the same day, after they had passed their term of probation to the satisfaction of the missionary. The banner year in this respect, not only for Santa Barbara, but for all the Missions in California, was 1803. At Santa Barbara Mission the number of catechumens was so large that the missionaries, Fathers Estévan Tápis and Juan Cortés, had to call on the Fathers from other Missions to help them administer the sacrament. The entries for that year cover fifty-nine closely written pages, beginning with number 2,252 and ending with number 3,102. Hence, in 1803, there were admitted to the Christian fold 851 Indians, of whom only twenty were children of white parents, and 183 children under nine years of age. All the rest, to the number of 668, were adults, that is to say, persons more than nine years of age.

In cases where the number of candidates was large, one of the Fathers would baptize the men and boys, while the other administered the sacrament to the women and girls. On another day, keeping the same arrangement, they would admit the children under nine years of age.

At times, the Fathers were at a loss to find names for all. Fr. Cortés at last found a way out of the difficulty. He simply took the list of Saints in his breviary, and then on one day he would apply all the names under the letter A, the next time all under B, and so on, until he had gone through the list. When there was only one person to baptize, it was customary to take the name of the saint whose feast happened to be celebrated on the day when the child was born. Hence a convert could know pretty surely on what day he



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Foja 1

Viva Jesus

Libro 1º de Bautismos

de la Nueva Mision de la Stª Barbara Virg. y Martir

Situada

en el Centro del Canal, y junto al Real Presidio del mismo Nombre

Fundada

de expensas, y de Orden del Catolico Rey de las Españas, y de sus Armas Victorias el Sor D. Carlos III. que Dios prospere eternamente por los R. R. PP. Ministros Apostolicos del Sto Colegio de propaganda Fide de S. Fernando de Mexico, á el q. dho Piadoso, y Poderoso Monarcha encargo, y entrego la Reduccion, y Administracion de todas estas sus Nuevas Poseciones

Comenzada

En el proprio dia de la Stª Patrona Titular 4 de Diciembre del

Año del Sor 1786.

En cuia tarde por no haberse podido permitido mayor solemnidad, yo el infra escrito Fr. Fermin Franco de Lasuen Presidte de estas Mision, y de dho y por el dho Colegio Rpp. pasé asociado de otros tres Ministros primeros desde el Presidio á este Parage, bendige agua, y con ella el Terreno, dedicando lo á Dios N. S. y luego despues una Cruz grande, que enarbolamos, y adoramos. Seguimos despues la Letania de los Santos, y concluimos esta primera funcion cantando la Antifona, con su Oracion de Nra Stª Patrona. El 5 de dho mes, y año llego el Sor Gobr, y dio cumplida la posesion ynpuesta, se resolvio absolutamte q. debia mudarse á la fundacion primitiva en este parage. Y el dia 16 preparada una Cruz armada, junto á la Cruz ynmediata al Sor Gobr cantó la Mision primera en este Sitio, á q. asistio el R. P. Presidte Rpp Fr. Fermin Paterna, y dijo una breve platica sobre el Asunto. Sea

para mayor honra, y gloria de Dios

Exaltacion de su Santo Nombre

y bien de las Almas.

Primeros Ministros

Asignados por mi de facultad de Nro Stº Colegio fueron los R. P. P.

Fr. Antonio Paterna, y Fr. Christoval Dramas.

Consta de este Libro de 392 fojas utiles, y numeradas, sin la primera, q. dejo en blanco, y por q. conste lo firmo.

Fr. Fermin Franco de Lasuen

or she was born by looking up on what day the feast of the patron saint was celebrated; for, as a rule, Baptism was administered on the very day of the birth. Invariably, the sponsors were reminded of their spiritual relationship with the child or the convert, and of their consequent duties.

There is nothing recorded to prove that the missionaries of either Santa Barbara or San Buenaventura ever crossed the channel and visited the islands. In the earlier years, facilities were lacking. Still, they could not overlook the fact that at least two of the islands, Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa, were inhabited. In the first years of the eighteenth century, Fr. Tápis instituted inquiries and then even proposed, as was stated in a previous chapter, that a Mission be founded for the islanders; but nothing came of the plan because the requisites for such an establishment were found wanting. It appears, however, that some Santa Barbara neophytes were sent over to the islands to instruct the people, and to baptize such children and old people as they happened to find in danger of death. Furthermore, some of the islanders were induced to come over to the mainland and join the Mission, while others sent their children over. The first time that an Indian from one of the islands was baptized at Santa Barbara was on January 1, 1795, when pagan parents presented a child, which was three months old. The entry of its Baptism is recorded under number 820. The parents were from the ranchería of Cajatse. On November 15, 1814, Fr. Ramón Olbés remarks: "On the islands facing this Mission, Francisco Suluchu, a neophyte of this Mission, married to the late Maria del Rosario, baptized privately, in various rancherías of said islands, some pagans who were very old and infirm. They are the following." Then Fr. Olbés enters numbers 3,696 to 3,732 and continues: "The ceremonies were supplied today, November 14, 1814." Whether these baptized neophytes came over from the islands to receive the sacrament or Fr. Olbés went over to them, the missionary did not think necessary to mention. In 1822, a large number of islanders were baptized.

Spiritual Results at Mission Santa Barbara

Year	Baptisms		Marriages		Deaths		Neophytes		Total Number of Neophytes at Mission	Confessions	Communions	Viaticum	Confirmations
	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	White	Male	Female					
1782	----	6	----	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	23
1783	----	18	----	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	---
1784	----	23	----	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	---
1785	----	25	----	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	---
1786	3	32	----	1	----	---	---	---	3	---	---	--	---
1787	188	44	47	---	6	---	---	---	183	---	---	--	---
1788	336	57	92	5	29	11	---	---	307	---	---	--	---
1789	475	65	126	7	50	16	---	---	425	---	---	--	---
1790	520	71	135	8	102	22	---	---	407	---	---	--	461
1791	662	87	163	8	141	27	---	---	499	---	---	--	44
1792	729	98	184	11	209	33	---	---	504	---	---	--	---
1793	775	110	190	13	235	33	---	---	541	---	---	--	160
1794	815	124	201	18	263	34	300	249	549	---	---	--	51
1795	870	136	209	19	298	37	305	264	569	---	---	--	---
1796	1023	153	242	23	372	44	325	321	646	---	---	--	---
1797	1215	169	289	26	425	55	403	379	782	---	---	--	---
1798	1301	183	312	36	493	59	411	385	796	---	---	--	---
1799	1395	195	330	42	588	68	402	390	792	---	---	--	---
1800	1541	214	354	44	662	74	431	433	864	---	---	--	---
1801	1814	236	406	47	812	88	495	527	1022	---	---	--	---
1802	1997	254	442	53	894	92	521	572	1093	---	---	--	---
1803	2829	274	644	73	1026	104	833	959	1792	---	---	--	---
1804	3092	283	717	75	1186	105	823	960	1783	---	---	--	---
1805	3217	299	768	78	1315	110	836	931	1767	---	---	--	---
1806	3279	309	826	79	1529	117	738	865	1603	---	---	--	---
1807	3328	320	852	81	1641	121	705	834	1539	---	---	--	---
1808	3380	342	867	82	1748	125	691	786	1477	---	---	--	---
1809	3419	355	880	89	1846	134	665	748	1413	---	---	--	---
1810	3450	379	904	93	1936	139	644	711	1355	---	---	--	---
1811	3498	397	929	101	2014	149	690	635	1325	---	---	--	---
1812	3565	421	962	117	2100	160	659	645	1304	92	3	--	---
1813	3615	439	980	118	2189	166	647	622	1269	140	---	--	---
1814	3732	462	1004	121	2271	175	663	637	1300	42	20	1	---
1815	3837	478	1034	121	2340	180	659	581	1230	260	---	5	---
1816	3961	501	1058	125	2437	192	663	596	1259	514	187	10	---
1817	4011	522	1082	131	2517	197	645	581	1226	401	139	11	---
1818	4088	547	1099	131	2610	203	646	553	1199	480	224	13	---
1819	4147	558	1127	134	2708	205	633	526	1159	511	359	20	---
1820	4194	582	1140	135	2780	213	624	508	1132	360	215	18	---
1821	4233	601	1159	140	2913	220	574	465	1039	480	368	46	---
1822	4288	629	1169	148	2997	229	552	458	1010	350	280	11	---
1823	4325	653	1190	152	3081	238	532	430	962	315	250	13	---
1824	4360	680	1212	158	3155	249	508	415	923	---	---	--	---
1825	4382	712	1224	169	3220	254	490	395	885	215	190	6	---
1826	4412	750	1240	174	3267	271	485	382	867	250	210	5	---
1827	4436	788	1259	182	3316	277	485	372	847	345	320	6	---
1828	4464	813	1266	183	3419	280	425	337	762	301	290	4	---
1829	4495	857	1272	185	3475	287	407	330	737	---	---	--	---
1830	4517	891	1281	191	3522	300	391	320	711	---	---	--	---
1831	4546	937	1298	198	3582	308	371	308	679	215	202	--	556
1832	4563	967	1310	205	3637	318	343	285	628	---	---	--	---
1833	4577	1024	1323	213	3688	325	324	266	590	---	---	--	182
1834	4593	1086	1327	221	3722	337	307	249	556	---	---	--	134
1835	4602	1133	1332	227	3772	348	284	222	506	---	---	--	122
1836	4616	1192	1335	232	3797	356	270	211	481	---	---	--	---
1837	4629	1247	1343	---	3832	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	---
1838	4635	1302	1346	---	3875	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	---
1839	4650	1361	1356	---	3922	---	---	---	246	---	---	--	110
1840	4660	1408	1368	---	3964	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	139
1841	4676	1471	1373	---	3997	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	20
1842	4686	1520	1378	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	263
1843	4699	1590	1384	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	55
1844	4703	1645	1393	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	62
1845	4712	1707	1395	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	74
1846	4715	----	1397	---	----	---	---	---	----	---	---	--	41

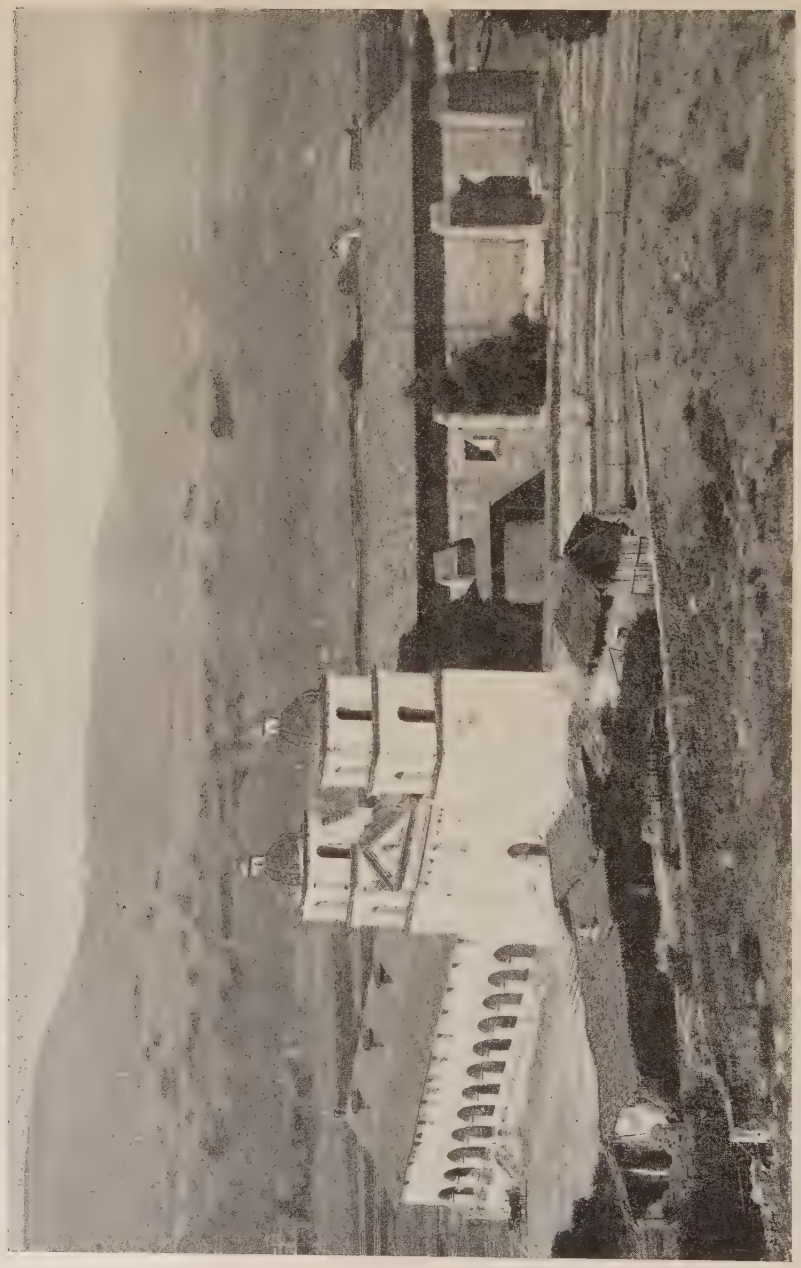
The last Baptism administered in the old church, that is to say, in the one that was damaged by the earthquake, took place on July 27, 1820. It bears number 4,180 in the Register. Fr. Ripoll officiated. This entry is puzzling when brought in connection with the following one. On September 12, 1820, nearly two months after the above-mentioned last Baptism in the old church, Fr. Francisco Suñer writes in entry number 4,181, "In the new church of this Mission of Santa Barbara, I baptized solemnly a male infant recently born, the legitimate son of Juan de Dios Naticuiat and of Rufina. I conferred the name of Juan Maria." From this it is clear that the old church was still in use toward the end of July, 1820. As to the new church, the records say that it was begun in 1815 and dedicated on September 12, 1820. Now, since there is nowhere the slightest evidence that the new church was built on a site other than the one occupied by the old church, we may safely conclude that the new church was erected around and over the old one, which was quite feasible, owing to the smaller dimensions of the latter. Being of adobe, it was taken down when the new structure was finished, and the Fathers could make plans for the interior decorations. The ceremonies of dedication are recorded immediately after the baptismal entry of September 12 mentioned above. Since they have been described in a previous chapter, we may now proceed to cull some items of interest from the Baptismal Register of the presidio or town of Santa Barbara.

As already stated, the Register was begun by Fr. Junípero Serra. The very first entry is interesting. It reads: "1.—Juan José, Mestizo, Infant. On July 10 of this year, 1782, in the church of this royal presidio of Santa Barbara, I supplied the ceremonies and applied the holy Oils to an infant born on the night before, the legitimate son of José Loreto Salazár, Indian and soldier of this company, and of Maria Loreto Espinoza, Spaniard, his wife, native of Sinaloa. Her husband is a native of Sonora. The child was baptized privately by Anastásio Maria Telox, soldier of said

company. I conferred the name Juan Joseph. In testimony of whereof I have signed on the eleventh of this month and year, as above.—Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon."

During the four years following the establishment of the presidio, there were no Indian converts. A few days before the founding of the Mission, however, on October 28, 1786, Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, one of the two missionaries appointed for the Mission, began his activities at the presidio with entry No. 31. The next entry is made by Fr. Presidente Lasuén. It reads: "On November 28, 1786, in the house of the lieutenant and commander of the presidio of Santa Barbara, because the church threatened to collapse, every possible becoming decoration having been applied, I solemnly baptized a male infant born on the 22 of this month and year, the legitimate son of Juan José Lobo, native of the Villa de Sinaloa, soldier of the presidio, and of Maria Nicolasa Beltrán, native of the presidio of San Miguel de Orcasitas in Sonora. I gave him the name Joseph Basilio. The sponsors were Don Joseph Argüello, ensign of this presidio, and Doña Ignácia, his wife, to whom etc.—Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén."

Almost alternately, Fathers Paterna and Orámas officiated and used the term "in the house of," until number 36, entered on April 6, 1787, when we find the term "in the house that served as the church of the presidio, because the one that was the church threatens to fall to ruins;" but only one Baptism is thus entered, for with November 12, 1787, number 37, Fr. Paterna begins to make the entries with "in the church of this Mission of Santa Barbara," Fr. Orámas doing likewise. Thus far all those baptized at the presidio were children. The two Fathers continue in this way till number 926, entered on November 6, 1831, when the last white child was baptized at the Mission. Thereafter, Fr. Antonio Menéndez, O. P., having been appointed chaplain of the presidio and town, Baptism was administered in the presidio chapel. The first, number 927, occurred on November 6, 1831, when Fr. Menéndez baptized a child in the



CLOSER VIEW OF MISSION SANTA BARBARA FROM THE EAST.

church of the presidio. The father of the infant was Robert Elwell, native of Boston, and the mother Maria Vicencia Sánchez, his wife.

Various names of Americans occur in the Register of the presidio parish, such as James Burke, William Foxen (Fox), William Dana, Daniel Hill, Thomas Robinson, José Chapman, Alexander and Lydia Thompson, Thomas Robins, John Jones, James Borris, George Coleman, David Harrison, etc. They generally figure as converts; also a few Sandwich Islanders occur.

Of special interest is entry 552. Fr. Antonio writes: "On August 16, 1819, in the church of this Mission of Santa Barbara (it was while the presidio chapel was unserviceable) I solemnly baptized an adult negro, slave of Smit (Smith), captain of an American frigate, who appeared in this jurisdiction and who left him in charge of the captain and commander of this company, Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, about 20 years of age, native of Africa, who repeatedly asked for holy Baptism, on whom, after he had been instructed in the dogmas of the Catholic Faith, I bestowed the name Juan Cristóbal. The godparents were Don José Antonio de la Guerra, single, and his mother Doña Maria Antonio Carrillo, wife of the said commander, whom I reminded etc.—Fr. Antonio Ripoll."

An entry of much local interest is number 682, entered on January 29, 1825, when Fr. Ripoll writes: "I baptized conditionally, in the church of this Mission, with the permit of Fr. Vicar Forane Vicente de Sarría, an adult who said his name was Daniel Hill, single, 26 years of age, native of the town of Bilrica (?) in the province of Massachusetts, United States of North America, son of Job and Susanna Hill, both Presbyterians. Before Baptism he was instructed in the mysteries of our Catholic Faith, abjured his errors, and made the profession of the Faith as is commanded. I gave him the name Daniel Antonio. The sponsor was Antonio Cota, native of the city of Mataso in the principality

of Cataluña, Spain, married in Lima to Maria Estebanez whom I reminded etc.—Fr. Antonio Ripoll."

We conclude with number 667, entered on June 5, 1824, by Fr. Francis X. Uria who had fled from Santa Inés when the Indians there revolted in February of the same year. The entry reads: "In the church of this Mission of Santa Barbara, license of the Vicar Forane Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarría having been obtained, and he being sufficiently instructed in Christian Doctrine and the articles of the Faith, and he having declared for certain that he had never received the Sacrament of Baptism, and consequently never belonged to any sect but lived like a pagan; at his request, I administered solemnly the holy Sacrament of Baptism, after he had renounced in due form all the sects and his errors, an adult of 22 years of age, called in his language Diego Borris,[1] native of Jodson (Hudson), province of New York in the United States, Anglo-American, son of William Borris, Englishman of the city of Liverpool, and of his mother called Madalena Van Ransala (doubtless Renselear), Hollander, native of Amsterdam, his father an Episcopalian, and his mother a Lutheran. I gave him the name Diego del Espiritu Santo. The sponsors were Diego Olivera, single, and Maria Estefana Olivera, widow of the late José Vicente Ortega, whom I reminded, etc.—Fr. Francisco X. Uria."

[1] James William Borris, employed by Captain De la Guerra as physician for the troops at Santa Barbara. Very likely his name was Burroughs, as Bancroft thinks. (Vol. ii, pp. 495, 526, 725.)

CHAPTER XXX.

Marriage Register.—Title Page.—First Entry at the Presidio.—Prominent Weddings. — Converts of Note. — Micheltorena. — *Casados y Velados.*—Marriage Blessing.—Alexander S. Taylor's Marriage.—Marriage Register at the Mission.—*Monjèrio* Girls.—How Courted and Married.—First Indian Marriage.—Island Indians.

THE title page of the Marriage Register was arranged by Fr. Presidente Lasuén. The text differs from that of the other Registers, wherefore it is reproduced here entire. It reads as follows:

"Blessed Be Jesus.

"Book of Matrimonies, which at the instance of the undersigned Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, Presidente of these Missions among the heathens of Upper California, is set apart for the Royal Presidio of Santa Barbara from the time of the founding of the Mission of the same title. It begins on December 3, 1786, as is clear from the first entry. For the marriages previously celebrated in the said presidio, or not pertaining to it, recourse must be had to the respective Marriage Register of the Mission of the Seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura. This book consists of 300 folios, numbered for use, not counting the first and the last which remain blank. In testimony whereof I have signed this.—Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén."

The flyleaf, or first folio, not numbered, was utilized later on by Fr. Vicente de Sarría, Comisário Prefecto, for noting his two canonical visitations—*Autos-de-Visita.* The one is dated September 21, 1813, with Fr. Francisco X. Uria as secretary. The other is dated July 5, 1815, and Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada countersigns it as secretary. These *Autos* are found on the first flyleaf of all the Registers in all the Missions in California.

The first entry in this Register of the presidio reads as

follows: "On the third of the month of December, 1786, in the room that serves as the church of this presidio of Santa Barbara, which is the guardhouse, because the church building threatens to collapse, the presentation and the information having preceded, and the banns having been published three times, during the solemnity of holy Mass, and all the other obligations prescribed by the holy Council of Trent having been observed, I the undersigned missionary of the Mission of Santa Barbara, *in facie Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae,* joined in matrimony the soldier Joseph Calijito, son of Nicolas de Ayala and of Maria Ignacia, his wife, natives of the Reál de Cosaló, and Juana Vitala Feliz, daughter of Victorino Feliz and of Michaela Landera, his legitimate wife, natives of the said Réal de Cosaló. The witnesses to this matrimonial contract were Pedro Amadór, husband of Maria Ramona Noriega, native of Pojulo, and Joseph Lima, single, native of the city of Granáda, both soldiers *de cuera* of this presidio of Santa Barbara. In testimony whereof I have signed on said day, month, and year. On January 12, 1787, they received the nuptial blessing.—Fr. Antonio Paterna."

This first marriage entry is typical of all that follow. Sometimes there would be a dispensation from one or two banns, but rarely from all.

A prominent marriage was that of José de la Guerra with Maria Antonia Carrillo. The banns were published three times and all the formalities were observed, as was usual with fervent Catholics then as now. In this case, the publications were made at Monterey and Santa Barbara, in the presidio chapels. The marriage ceremony, however, was celebrated at the Mission of Santa Barbara, on May 16, 1804, before Fr. Estévan Tápis, the Presidente of the Missions. The record bears number 56 in the register. From the antecedents noted in the entry we learn that the groom, José de la Guerra, was a native of the Pueblo de Novales en las Montañas de Santander, legitimate son of Don Juan José de la Guerra y Ceballos, and of Doña Teresa Noriega.

†

Viva Jesus

Libro de Matrimonios

Que á instancia del Infra-escrito N. H. Ter-
min.no Franco de Lasuen Presidente de estas
Misiones de Yntrides de la Nueva Calif.a
se apropio al Pl. Presd.a

Sta Barbara

Desde la fundacion de la Miss.n del mismo
Titulo, segun se d.e en la Nota puesta
al principio

Se Comenzo en 9 de Dic.re de 1786.

Como consta de su primera Partida, y para
la Cura de los Casamt.os celebrados antes en el ex-
presado Presidio, ó pertenecientes á el, de-
be recurrirse al respectivo Libro propio
de la Miss.n del Seraphico D. n. Buena-
ventura, conforme se advierte en la referi-
da Nota, á que me remito.

Consta este Libro

de trescientas hojas utiles numeradas, sin la
primera, y ultima, que quedan en blanco;
Y para que conste lo firme.

N. H. Termin.no Franco de Lasuen

At the time of his marriage he was ensign of the presidio of Santa Barbara. The bride, Maria Antonia, was the daughter of Don Raymundo Carrillo, lieutenant of the presidio of Santa Barbara, and of Doña Tomasa Lugo.

Worthy of special notice also is the wedding of William Edward Hartnell who became well known in California. A native of the County of Lancaster, England, and resident of Monterey, he was married on April 30, 1825, to Doña Maria Teresa de la Guerra, daughter of Captain José de la Guerra. The marriage was blessed at the presidio church by Fr. Antonio Ripoll. William Hartnell was a convert.

The following became noted in the history of the territory and all were converts: William Dana of Boston, who married Josefa Carrillo; Robert Elwell of Boston, who married Vicencia Sánchez; John Temple, who married Rafaela Cota; William Domingo Foxen (Fox), native of England, who married Maria Osuna; Alfred Robinson (author of *Life in California*), native of Massachusetts, who at holy Mass married Anna Maria, daughter of Captain José de la Guerra, on January 24, 1836; Luis Burton, who married Maria Antonia Carrillo, on November 20, 1839; Augustin Jansens, native of the Netherlands, who married Maria Antonia Pico; George Nidever, who in 1841 married Sinforosa Sánchez; and many others.

The first mixed marriage, so far as discovered, was that of John Haskel, Protestant, with Maria Feliz. This occurred during the year 1855, more than seventy years after the Santa Barbara presidio was founded.

A marriage between persons of note was that of Manuel Jimeno Casarin with Maria de las Augustias de la Guerra, in the spring of 1833. Manuel was the son of Don José Maria Jimeno Casarin and of Doña Gregória Sanchez, his wife, all natives of Mexico City. He held various public offices, and under Alvarado and Micheltorena was Secretary of State. Maria de las Augustias was the daughter of Captain José de la Guerra. Manuel was the brother of the two friars José Joaquin and Antonio Jimeno.

We conclude this subject by making a correction. Bancroft writes: "Yet another achievement must be placed to the Bishop's (García Diego) credit. He succeeded in inducing Micheltorena to give a practical illustration of his devotion to Church precepts and to the cause of good morals, by marrying the woman he had brought from Mexico as his mistress. I have not seen any contemporary record of the marriage, but many remember the fact." [1] Bancroft was misled by those many who remembered the fact. The Marriage Register before us has a clear record of the case. The entire entry reads as follows: "No. 265. Velacion del Exmo. Senor Don Manuel Micheltorena con Doña Josefa Fuentes." These words are on the margin. Then follows the entry proper. "On July 29, 1843, in this church of Santa Barbara I gave the Nuptial Blessing (Spanish, *vele*) to his Excellency Don Manuel Micheltorena and to Doña Josefa Fuentes, previously married,[2] as is evident to me, and to which Don Felix Valdes and Don Juan Avella, both officers of the army, can testify; and in order that for all time it be on record I have signed this to-day, April 20, 1844.— Fr. Francisco Bishop of California." The entry is written in the hand of Fr. Gonsález Rúbio, the Bishop's secretary; but the signature is in the Bishop's own hand.

The case requires some explanation. After all formalities have been observed, the couple present themselves before the authorized priest at the altar before holy Mass. Then and there the marriage ceremony takes place, that is both plight their troth. After this they are what the Spaniards call *casados*, that is to say, they are married. The marriage contract lacks nothing to make it valid. After these ceremonies, holy Mass is celebrated. Just before holy Communion, the couple again approach the altar, whereupon the celebrant, who need not be the pastor or the one that officiated at the marriage ceremony, recites a lengthy blessing, called the nuptial blessing over the bride. This blessing

1 *California*, vol. iv, p. 374.

2 in Mexico, eight years before.

Material Results at Mission Santa Barbara—Agricultural Products

Year	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas, etc.		Total		
											Fanegas		Bushels
	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Harv.
1787	26	120	10	----	1	30	2	9	.6	---	43	159	265
1788	44	178	12	200	--	----	--	13	.5	1	56	392	653
1789	56	649	10	230	--	70	--	43	.9	---	67	992	1653
1790	64	725	10	100	--	50	--	60	1	3	75	938	1563
1791	---	1500	---	340	--	262	--	118	--	2	---	1922	3203
1792	80	1000	7	100	2	120	4	116	1	10	94	1346	2243
1793	78	936	3	----	1	50	4	80	.5	6	85	1072	1787
1794	98	400	---	----	2	15	--	---	--	---	100	415	692
1795	73	100	---	----	--	----	2	---	--	---	75	100	167
1796	75	1400	---	----	--	----	4	4	--	---	79	1404	2640
1797	89	3500	---	----	1	110	3	4	--	---	103	3614	6023
1798	93	1700	---	----	2	160	1	1	--	---	96	1861	3102
1799	123	1420	---	----	2	266	2	30	1	5	128	1731	2885
1800	106	1971	---	----	2	80	2	---	.4	3	110	2054	3423
1801	129	2327	---	----	3	70	3	28	1	2	134	2432	4055
1802	114	2876	2	40	1	40	9	---	.2	10	125	2966	4943
1803	149	1856	4	42	3	13	5	---	--	---	159	1911	3185
1804	143	5796	25	620	6	330	4	10	--	---	172	6756	11260
1805	138	4912	15	1008	6	500	4	3	2	---	163	6423	10705
1806	210	3575	25	920	7	300	4	20	1	9	247	4824	8040
1807	200	2142	18	800	2	90	.1	15	1	8	222	3055	5092
1808	208	4380	22	1014	2	300	2	37	--	---	234	5731	9552
1809	214	3294	23	779	2	62	2	34	.1	2	241	4171	6952
1810	166	2217	--	176	2	196	--	---	1	5	169	2594	4323
1811	154	2689	25	308	5	926	3	6	1	5	188	3934	6557
1812	124	3853	11	126	3	400	3	26	--	---	141	4405	7342
1813	146	3800	15	860	5	1200	4	44	1	36	171	5940	9900
1814	150	2572	6	484	5	900	7	60	1	33	169	4049	6748
1815	144	2641	9	500	8	1150	1	25	2	5	162	4321	7202
1816	144	5098	40	534	9	540	3	50	11	43	198	6265	10442
1817	193	4155	100	1522	12	1000	3	50	8	198	316	6925	11542
1818	162	3200	24	677	.5	80	3	60	2	103	191	4120	6867
1819	205	1468	14	20	4	250	2	40	--	---	225	1778	2963
1820	286	1340	19	41	4	100	2	37	3	4	314	1486	2477
1821	355	5800	30	1006	2	200	2	83	3	3	392	7092	12820
1822	195	3336	39	160	4	110	3	34	4	43	244	3683	6168
1823	315	250	30	60	10	340	10	46	1	---	366	696	1160
1824	163	870	17	200	3	103	2	30	1	5	185	1208	2013
1825	182	4500	45	560	3	100	5	104	7	45	241	5309	8848
1826	190	1400	50	600	4	160	3	20	1	12	248	2192	3653
1827	160	700	60	600	3	300	4	35	1	8	228	1643	2738
1828	100	800	90	300	4	80	1	30	.3	3	195	1213	2022
1829	39	410	17	67	3	120	2	25	2	10	63	632	1053
1830	150	1050	25	248	9	300	3	15	1	25	188	1638	2730
1831	165	730	25	336	6	90	1	50	2	30	199	1236	1060
1832	115	900	15	35	4	150	3	40	1	12	148	1137	1895
1833	148	1008	25	89	5	420	3	17	1	6	182	1540	2567
1834	150	1300	30	700	20	420	5	45	1	8	206	2473	4122

is never bestowed outside holy Mass. After this, both receive Holy Communion. The nuptial blessing having been imparted, the couple are considered not only *casados,* but also *velados.*

If for one reason or another the marriage ceremony took place at a time when holy Mass could not be celebrated,

for instance in the afternoon or in the evening, as occurs with not very fervent Catholics, the couple are legally and validly *casados,* that is to say, married; but the bride lacks the nuptial blessing, which she could receive only during holy Mass. In such a case, the Catholic Church still wishes that the nuptial blessing should not be lost. Hence she provides that the couple may at any time, when the rubrics allow, approach the altar during holy Mass in order to receive the nuptial blessing, whereupon they will be also called *velados.* Such was the case with Manuel Micheltorena and his wife. They had been married eight years before reaching California, perhaps in the afternoon or in haste because the general had to return to the army, he being an officer under President Santa Anna. Instead of the Bishop inducing Micheltorena to right a wrong, as Bancroft puts it, Doña Josefa, the wife of the general, on their way to Monterey, doubtless induced her husband to avail himself of the opportunity to afford her the nuptial blessing, and that at the hands of the Bishop. Micheltorena consented, and it is to his credit that he set such a good example.

A notable entry is No. 520, under date of January 11, 1860, which records the marriage of Alexander S. Taylor with Josefa Gabriela Hill. A certificate on blue paper accompanies the record, and reads as follows: "County of Santa Barbara, State of California.—I Alexander S. Taylor, a native of Charleston, South Carolina, legitimate son of Alexander and Mary S. Taylor, and now resident of Monterey, California, being under engagement of marriage to Josefa Gabriela Hill, daughter of Daniel and Rafaela Hill of Santa Barbara aforesaid, do hereby solemnly and faithfully promise and covenant that she in her marriage with me shall never be hindered or molested in any way by me in the exercise of her religious Faith of the Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Church, nor our children, if children we are blessed with, and that those children shall be educated and trained by their mother in the Faith of the said Church; and also that the said parties are of full age, and that the

said marriage engagement is with the full knowledge and consent of the parents of the said Josefa Gabriela and of the friends of said Alexander S. Taylor.—Santa Barbara, 29th day of December, A. D. 1859. Alexander S. Taylor.—Witnesses: F. J. Maguire, James L. Ord."

Alexander S. Taylor, according to the Burial Register of the Parish Church, Santa Barbara, died a Catholic, and was buried on July 28, 1876. He was the most indefatigable individual historical worker in the days when such work was not yet appreciated. For particulars about Taylor's efforts in the field of history, see *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. xxxix-xl; also Bancroft, *California,* vol. v, pp. 743-744.

With regard to the Marriage Register of the Indian Mission, it is gratifying to note that it is complete like all the Registers of the Mission and of the town. The title page was drawn up by Fr. Lasuén, and it reads like the Baptismal Register, barring the substitution of *Matrimonios* for *Bautismos.* The same ecclesiastical formalities and ceremonies were observed as in the case of white people. In the Missions the young people could not wander about at will; nor was there any promiscuous dancing. The young men would dance, but only by themselves. Likewise the girls enjoyed themselves among their own kind. At every Mission was the *monjério,* or apartment for marriageable girls and for the women whose husbands were absent. To this apartment they retired for the night, and were locked in till the next morning. During the day the girls might visit their relatives in the Mission village, after they had accomplished their tasks in the spinning or sewing room, etc. They had plenty of amusements, and were quite happy. The girls continued under this gentle tutelage until they married, for in their estimation marriage was, of course, the height of earthly bliss.

Marriage would come about in this way. When a young Indian wanted a wife he would make his wish known to the missionary. The Father would ask him if he had any partic-

MISSION SANTA BARBARA. FROM AN ETCHING BY HENRY C. FORD.

ular girl in mind. If so the missionary would tell the girl in person, and ascertain her wishes on the subject. If she was willing to have the suitor, the espousals took place in regular form, and were recorded signed by two witnesses. The day for the wedding would then be designated, and the banns published on three successive Sundays. The marriage was invariably contracted and blessed before the altar in the church. Finally the couple was assigned a dwelling in the Mission village, and then formed part of the village community. In case the girl was not willing to accept the suitor for her husband, which rarely happened, she was perfectly free to decline.

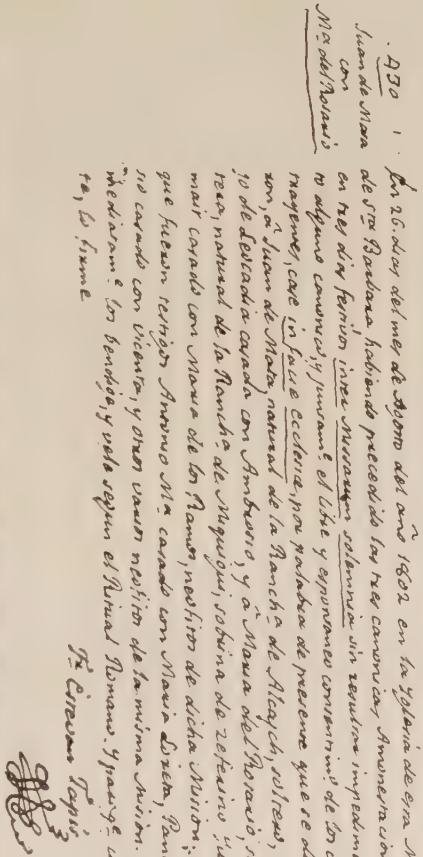
The first marriage entry was made by Fr. Paterna on February 3, 1787; the second by Fr. Orámas on February 24, 1787. The couples were Indian converts, who merely renewed the consent given before their conversion, and then received the nuptial blessing. They were José Manuel with Catarina Maria, and Ignácio with Lucia Maria. Both ceremonies took place at the presidio church, because the Mission chapel had not yet been constructed.

The first real marriage of Christian Indians took place on March 21, 1787, at the presidio chapel. The banns had been published three times, as Fr. Orámas takes care to note, and no impediment had been discovered. "Then, after the free consent of both had been given, I married and blessed (at holy Mass) Juan Joseph and Maria Guadalupe, neophytes of this Mission of Santa Barbara," Fr. Orámas writes in entry No. 6. At the same time two other couples renewed their consent. For all these, writes Fr. Orámas, the witnesses were Joseph Maria Domínguez and Hilário Giménes, soldiers *de cuera* of this royal presidio.

The first marriage that took place at the new adobe Mission church occurred on July 9, 1787, and it is noted in the Register under No. 23.

The first neophyte couple, originally hailing from one of the islands, was married at the Mission on May 3, 1793. The groom was a native of the ranchería of Sasuchi; the

bride was born on the ranchería of Tuacam on the same island, which is not named. Fr. Tápis officiated, and entered the names under No. 189.



SPECIMEN ENTRY, INDIAN MARRIAGE REGISTER, BY FR. ESTÉVAN TÁPIS.

The last entry in the Indian Marriage Register was dated on July 5, 1857. Although the entries had only reached folio 127, all the marriages of Indians, which had become

rare, were thereafter entered in the parish Register of the City of Santa Barbara. This last entry was signed by Fr. Francisco de Jesus Sanchez, under number 1427, for that many couples had renewed or made the marriage contract before the altar of the Mission.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Burial Register of the Presidio.—First Entry.—Executed Culprit Interred.—Don José Francisco Ortega's Death and Burial.—Deaths Without Sacraments.—Buried in the Crypt of the Mission.—Joseph Chapman.—Death of Carlos Antonio Carrillo.—Bishop Amat Disapproves the Parish Entries.—The Mission Register.—First Entry.—Fr. Antonio Paterna.—Kindly Indians.—Epidemic.—Holy Viaticum to Neophytes.—Indians Capable of High Degree of Spirituality.—Instances.—Register of Confirmations.—Those Officiating.

THE *Libro de Difuntos de los de Razon,* or Burial Register of the presidio of Santa Barbara, was begun by Fr. Junipero Serra, when he arranged the title page on Sunday, April 21, 1782, the day of the founding.

The first entry was made by Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria for a female infant two months old, which was buried on December 29, 1782. She was the daughter of the soldier Vicente Quijada and of his wife Juana Maria Armente.

Down to January 21, 1787, less than two months after the raising of the Cross on the site of the Mission, all entries in the Burial Register read "en la iglesia del Real Presidio"—in the church of the royal presidio. This church in the town, erected by the soldiers, must have been a wretched structure, for on January 9, 1787, less than five years after its construction, Fr. Antonio Paterna wrote: "In front of the chapel of this presidio of Santa Barbara I gave ecclesiastical burial (i. e., held the funeral services) to a child, the son of Domínguez, because the said chapel threatens to fall into ruins." In July, however, the soldiers of the garrison were building another church, which was completed by December of the same year.

Much interesting material is contained in this volume, but the recital of them would be tedious. The most noted incidents recorded are the following. Though living at the Mission, the Franciscans, for want of a chaplain, also

attended to the spiritual affairs of the people in the town. Thus it came to pass that Fr. Estévan Tápis had to perform a sad task when on January 10, 1795, he "gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of the presidio to the body of an adult, called Ignácio Rochin, who was executed by shooting on the same day in front of the said presidio, he having been sentenced by the court (for murder). He was the husband of Anna Maria Bojorges. He died after receiving the holy Sacraments of Penance and holy Eucharist."

An interesting entry is the following: "No. 56.—On the fourth day of February, 1798, in the cemetery of the Mission of Santa Barbara, I gave ecclesiastical burial to an adult, named Don José Francisco Ortega, who had risen to the rank of captain, the husband of Doña Antonia Carrillo. He died almost suddenly near the ranchería of Casíl, otherwise called La Nueva, while coming on the road to the presidio of Santa Barbara. For this reason, although Fr. José de Miguel went with all haste to succor him, he could not administer any Sacrament. However, about fifteen days before his death, he had received in the church of said presidio the Sacraments of Penance and holy Eucharist. In testimony whereof I have signed.—Fr. Estévan Tápis."

José Francisco Ortega had come up from Lower California with the first expedition under Captain Gaspár de Portolá in 1769. Fr. Serra in 1773 had proposed him to the viceroy for governor of California, which action provoked the enmity of Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada.

Strangely enough, the wife of Ortega, Doña Antonia Carrillo, also died without having received the last Sacraments, owing to an accident which she had suffered, and which left her no time for the reception of the Sacraments. However, Fr. Tápis notes in the entry, made on May 8, 1803, that Doña Antonia had received the Sacraments of Penance and holy Eucharist during Holy Week, little more than a month previously. The mortal remains were buried from the presidio church.

By special privilege, and as a mark of gratitude, Fr. Nar-

VARIOUS VIEWS IN AND AROUND THE MISSION.

ciso Durán, on October 26, 1842, buried Francisca Estudillo, wife of Don José Antonio Aguirre, a benefactor of the Fathers, in the crypt under the sanctuary of the Mission Church. This favor was bestowed upon only one other woman, Doña Maria Antonia Carrillo, the wife of Captain José de la Guerra, the Síndico of the Franciscans. The funeral services were held on December 27, 1843, by Fr. González Rúbio. She had received all the Sacraments, as the entry notes.

Entry No. 843, made on January 10, 1849, records the burial of Joseph Chapman, who during his life had become prominent at the Missions of San Gabriel and San Buenaventura. "Among all the earliest pioneers of California," says Bancroft, "there was no more attractive character, no more popular and useful man, than Joseph Chapman, the Yankee. He was a great favorite of the friars, especially of Fr. Sánchez, who declared it a marvel that one so long in the darkness of the Baptist faith could give such an example of true Catholic piety to older Christians."[1] He was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura on June 22, 1824, by Fr. José Señan. Later he moved to Santa Barbara with his family. Before his death Chapman received all the Sacraments, and Fr. González Rúbio officiated at his burial.

Cesário Lataillade, Spanish Vice-Consul, married to Maria Antonia de la Guerra, was buried on April 13, 1849. He had made his confession; but, as the case did not appear urgent, Holy Communion and Extreme Unction were not administered. Death came unexpectedly, as Fr. González Rúbio remarks. Bancroft has another version.

On September 4, 1851, Rt. Rev. José Sadoc Alemany, O. P., first Bishop of Monterey, examined the various parish Registers, and found them kept in due form, as he notes over his own signature.

Doña Josefa González García Diego, Bishop Diego's niece,

[1] *California*, vol. ii, p. 757.

died on December 6, 1852, and was buried on the next day. She had received all the Sacraments. The entry in the parish Register reads as follows: "No. 1143. On December 7, 1852, I gave ecclesiastical burial in this cemetery of Santa Barbara to a señorita doncella (maiden), called Doña Josefa González García Diego, who died on the previous day after having received the holy Sacraments of Penance, Holy Viaticum, and Extreme Unction, which I affirm and sign, Fr. José Maria de Jesus González."

Miss García Diego left all her belongings and money, amounting to $530, to the proposed College and Church of Our Lady of Sorrows in the City of Santa Barbara.

Various stories have circulated regarding the manner of the death of Carlos Carrillo, a prominent Californian. In a letter of Pablo de la Guerra to Antonio Maria de la Guerra, we have at last discovered the facts. He writes: "On February 25, 1852, Ash-Wednesday, half an hour ago, at 8 a. m., our uncle, Don Carlos, suddenly fell from a chair to the floor dead. Fr. González with this steamer is proceeding to San Francisco, and so we are in charge of the *asqueroso* of San Buenaventura."[2] Fr. González Rúbio, on his return, doubtless, made the entry which reads as follows: "No. 1,095. February 26, 1852. Burial of Carlos Antonio Carrillo, married to Josefa Castro, who died on the previous day so suddenly that he could scarcely be absolved and anointed conditionally."

On the arrival of Rt. Rev. Thaddeus, C. M., Second Bishop of Monterey, the Franciscans were supplanted at the parish church by secular priests. The entries in the various Registers grow very meager with the administration of the Rev. Jaime Vila, who took charge in 1858. At all events, they were not nearly as explicit as those of the friars. When Bishop Amat on June 16, 1863, examined the books, His Lordship was constrained to remark in the Burial Register: "We ordain that in the future the names of the

[2] The Rev. Pablo José Maria Jordan, apparently a Mexican secular priest, temporarily stationed at San Buenaventura.

parents of the deceased, of their husbands or wives, if they were married or were widowers or widows, be noted. Likewise, whether they received the holy Sacraments, in the case of adults."

His Lordship must have seen the slipshod way in which, like the others, the entry for the venerable Captain José de la Guerra was written. It stated only the name, the number in the list—1,432—and date of burial, February 11, 1858, at the age of 82 years. A biographical sketch of the Captain will be found at the close of the sketches on the friars.

The Burial Register of the Mission of Santa Barbara was begun by Fr. Fermín de Lasuén. The title page reads like that of the other books, except that *Difuntos* is to be substituted for *Bautismos* or *Matrimonios.*

The first entry records the burial, on August 8, 1787, of an adult Indian named Agustin, whose number in the Baptismal Register was 31. Hence he belonged to the first converts. Fr. Antonio Paterna officiated.

The cemetery at the Mission was mentioned for the first time on May 7, 1789, in connection with entry No. 35, made by Fr. Orámas. Previous to that date the wording was "in the *church* of this Mission," which does not mean, however, that the remains were interred there, but only that the funeral ceremonies were performed in the church.

Fr. Antonio Paterna, one of the two founders of the Mission, was buried in the church, however, on February 14, 1793. Particulars on his life will be found among the biographical sketches of the missionaries.

Fr. Tápis's first entry is especially interesting. He writes, under number 202: "On April 16, 1793, the Indians of the ranchería de Saspilil (Saspilhil, he writes) notified me that an adult Indian named Estévan Miguel Chitimayauit, a neophyte of this Mission, whom I had baptized *in articulo mortis* on the tenth of said month and year in said *ranchería*—whose entry will be found at number 734 in the Baptismal Register—had died. The Indians buried him in the same

ARCH UNDER THE AQUEDUCT IN REAR OF CEMETERY. IT WAS TORN DOWN BY AN AMERICAN BECAUSE HIS HAY WAGON COULD NOT PASS. BRIDGE OVER MISSION CREEK BEYOND.

ranchería and placed a Cross over the grave in order to distinguish it from those of the pagans."

Something like an epidemic must have raged in 1806 among the neophytes, different from the one in 1801, when a great many from the pagan rancherías were baptized *in extremis*. In 1806, only 72 Baptisms were administered, 13 adults and 49 children. Yet in that year, the deaths reached the extraordinary number of 222, of whom 150 were Indian adults and 65 Indian children, and one white adult and 6 white children. The most of them occurred in the month of February. On some days there were several burials at once at the Mission. Thus for instance, on February 12, there were five; on February 13, eight adults and children; on February 21, five; and on February 22, six. The two Fathers, Marcos de Amestoy and Marcos Vitoria, had their hands full, indeed; for they were anxious that none die without the Sacraments through their fault.

From April, 1816, due probably to the canonical visitation of Fr. Vicente de Sarría, the Fathers always note when the dying Indian received the Last Sacraments. This had not generally been observed. Frequently the Fathers found it impossible to administer the holy Eucharist, because, owing to the dullness of the Indians on the coast, this was exceedingly hard for them to grasp. In 1815 they actually gave holy Communion to but fifteen Indians. After that there were at Easter time hundreds, so that when dying many, able to distinguish and appreciate it, received the Holy Viaticum.

The following entry demonstrates that the Indians of the coast were not only capable of learning all mechanical arts, but also to reach a high degree of spirituality, notwithstanding that their immediate ancestors had stood on the lowest plane of humanity. Thus Fr. Antonio Ripoll writes under number 2,421, that "On September 14, 1816, in the cemetery of this Mission of Santa Barbara, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of Pancratius Aluluminaut of the ranchería of Geliec, husband of Angela Maria of the ranchería of Tegueps,

whose entry in the Baptismal Register is number 591, August 20, 1791. In preparation for death he received the holy Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction with much edification and many proofs of a true Christian; for he not only in life edified by his good conduct, but likewise followed it up at death, inasmuch as he adopted the means to die well. At his own request he asked for the holy habit, and said to me that he was content to die, but that he would be much more content if he were buried in the habit and not in a mat."

Similarly, an Indian woman gave much comfort to the Fathers, inasmuch as they learned that their teaching had brought fruit of a high order. Fr. Ripoll writes in connection with number 2,593: "On October 22, 1818, Maria Francisca (baptized by Fr. Lasuén on August 21, 1797, number 1,105 in the Baptismal Register), wife of Policarpo, received in preparation for death the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. She died after a long illness and with admirable signs of a happy death; for, some hours before, she said to me that God was calling her to heaven. On seeing her so contented, I asked her whether she was suffering much pain. She replied that she was suffering much, but that she would not complain, because she was thinking that Jesus Christ had endured more than she. Moreover, she begged her mother earnestly to let neither old men nor old women, nor other people, enter the house to wail, because they would disturb her, whereas she wanted to think of God. Two or three hours after such expressions she departed this life, without ceasing to invoke the Most Holy Name of Jesus. Thus she gave proof in life as well as in death of a truly Christian woman by the works that she performed."

On February 24, 1824, Fr. Ripoll entered the deaths that resulted from the tumult on February 22. They are numbered 3,090 to 3,095. Each is entered distinctly with the circumstances. They are: Antonio Maria Culununaju, married; Alberto Fortunato José Ajunupaut, married; Narciso

Simehuit, widower; Alberto Sulguamiset, married; Casiano José Silihuinahuit, widower; Nazário Lihuinait, married. Two others died a few days later in consequence of wounds they received during the conflict; they were Juan Fructuoso and Alonso Siyunanto.

This Register of Indian burials closes with number 3,997, on December 30, 1841. After number 3,946, entered on July 20, 1840, Fr. Antonio Jimeno remarks that on account of long illness he was using an amanuensis, which he does to the end of the book; wherefore errors might have occurred. After that, deceased Indians were entered in the Burial Register of the town parish.

The Register of Confirmation was opened by Fr. Presidente Lasuén, for both the Mission and the presidio of Santa Barbara, four years after the founding of the Mission. It contains fewer pages, but otherwise resembles the other Registers. The title page begins with the usual salutation or aspiration—*Viva Jesus, Live Jesus,* or *Blessed be Jesus.* As in the other volumes, we here encounter the fiction that the Mission was established at the expense of King Carlos III of Spain, whereas the means were provided from the Pious Fund. King Carlos usurped the management of the Pious Fund, collected by private persons for the maintenance of the California Missions, and through the viceroy doled out what was needed for the founding and for the support of the Missions. In this sense the term *at the expense of the King* may pass, and in this sense the Fathers made the statement, probably in virtue of some royal order.

On pages two to four, Fr. Lasuén explains that, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church promulgated by various General Councils, the ordinary minister of the Sacrament of Confirmation is the Bishop only; but that he had received special authority from the Holy See, that the Patent was dated May 25, 1790, and that he accordingly administered the Sacrament of Confirmation for the first time, after holy Mass and an appropriate sermon on December 18, 1790, in the church of the Mission of Santa Barbara. He had the respective documents read on this occasion and every

Material Results at Mission Santa Barbara—Live Stock

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Mules	Horses	Total
1787	80	27	87	---	9	32	235
1788	101	101	140	---	9	38	389
1789	126	192	153	---	10	62	543
1790	208	286	217	---	10	77	798
1791	348	540	135	---	10	111	1144
1792	480	720	200	---	14	150	1564
1793	600	1100	100	---	14	194	2008
1794	700	1300	---	---	25	248	2273
1795	700	1350	---	---	29	212	2291
1796	850	2300	---	---	27	259	3436
1797	1060	3550	---	---	42	265	4857
1798	1200	4200	---	---	44	369	5813
1799	1527	5221	---	---	47	452	7248
1800	1800	5615	---	---	55	637	8107
1801	1900	6007	---	---	58	672	8637
1802	2100	9082	---	---	58	642	11882
1803	2280	11221	---	---	67	646	14214
1804	3300	11066	---	---	71	773	15210
1805	3555	7031	---	---	76	729	11391
1806	3645	8234	---	---	86	762	12727
1807	3400	9000	---	---	112	660	13172
1808	4166	10000	---	30	105	780	15081
1809	5200	10000	---	80	110	700	16090
1810	4280	8000	---	190	130	1260	13860
1811	4340	9000	---	101	138	1309	14888
1812	4000	8000	---	250	142	1332	13724
1813	5000	10000	---	---	160	2300	16460
1814	5000	10000	---	120	166	1312	16598
1815	5000	10000	---	120	125	1300	16545
1816	5000	10000	---	60	132	1340	16532
1817	3140	8000	---	40	200	600	11980
1818	3500	8200	---	80	212	800	12792
1819	3600	8500	---	90	302	820	13312
1820	3500	8000	200	100	300	820	12920
1821	3500	9000	---	100	312	820	13732
1822	3700	8300	250	100	311	840	13501
1823	2200	6500	100	100	340	840	10180
1824	1200	2500	100	100	200	500	4600
1825	1800	3000	60	100	200	550	5710
1826	2400	3000	60	100	200	400	5760
1827	2600	3000	40	100	200	500	6440
1828	2850	3600	50	100	200	700	7500
1829	1500	3300	30	35	150	500	5515
1830	2500	3400	34	26	200	560	6720
1831	2600	3300	37	63	150	511	6661
1832	1800	3200	28	64	135	480	5707
1833	2500	3000	34	72	146	475	6227
1834	3400	2624	25	55	70	340	6514
1839	1770	2250	22	--	34	609	4685

time thereafter whenever he gave Confirmation. On this day Fr. Presidente Lasuén confirmed sixty-nine neophytes. Each name was entered separately together with the names of the parents, or of the husband or wife in the case of married people. The name of the sponsor was also entered. The list drawn up by Fr. Paterna, was signed by the two missionaries of the establishment, Fr. Antonio Paterna and Fr. José de Miguel.

On the next day Fr. Lasuén, after the same preliminaries, confirmed 238 neophytes, and on the 20th, five more, which brought the number to 312. Similarly, on December 21, 1790, after having the documents read, Fr. Lasuén confirmed white children and adults at the presidio chapel, in all fifty-one persons. The Fr. Presidente remained at the Mission till January 2, 1791, during which time he confirmed some more neophytes, thus bringing the number of confirmed to 461.

In the Register the Fr. Paterna then enters a note to the effect that Fr. Serra on September 1, 1783, had confirmed twenty-three persons *de razon* at the presidio, and these were now entered as Nos. 462 to 484.

On his various visits Fr. Presidente Lasuén administered Confirmation down to November 12, 1794, as the Table on the Spiritual Results demonstrates. After that date no one in California possessed the authority to confirm till the arrival of the Very Rev. Fr. Mariano Sosa, the Zacatecan Franciscan Comisário Prefecto in September, 1831. He had come to make arrangements for transfer of the northern Missions to the College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, which was effected early in 1833. Fr. Sosa enjoyed the authority of administering Confirmation in virtue of his office, but could exercise it in California only with the consent of the Bishop of Sonora, which was granted on occasion of this visit. He accordingly confirmed at the presidio chapel, on the two days of September 18 and 21, as many as 500 people *de razon*. On October 3, Fr. Sosa confirmed fifty-five Indians at the Mission. Indian children were growing scarce. The neophytes were decreasing.

When Fr. Narciso Durán came down from Mission San José, and made Santa Barbara Mission his headquarters as presidente and vice-comisário of the Fernandinos, he, too, enjoyed the authority to confirm. He exercised it for the first time, as delegate also of the Bishop of Sonora, at the Mission on August 25, 1833. Thereafter, at both the Mission and the presidio, Fr. Duán administered Confirmation till June, 1841. In the following year the first Bishop of

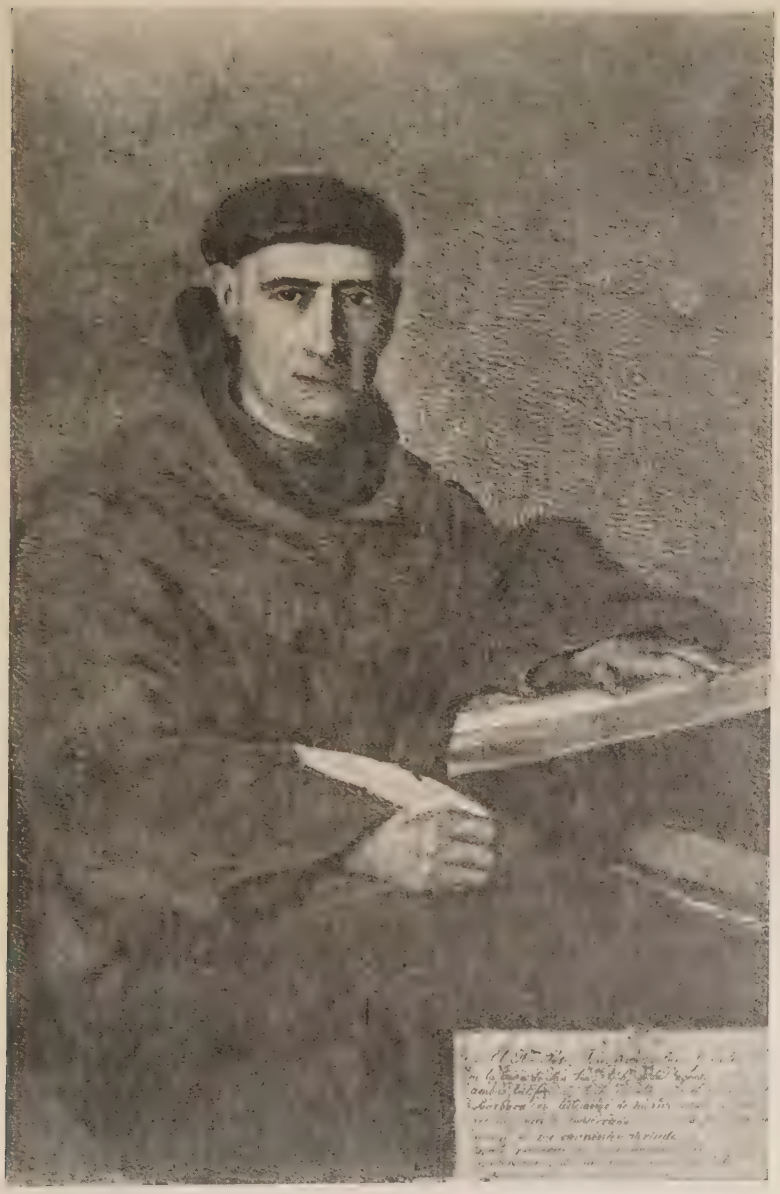
California, Rt. Rev. Francisco Garciá Diego arrived and made the Mission church his pro-cathedral. There he confirmed for the first time on February 3, 1842. He officiated thus till the early part of 1846, when he died on April 30. Thereafter, as comisários of the Franciscans, Fr. González Rúbio and Fr. José Joaquin Jimeno would occasionally exercise their authority in this line till the arrival of Bishop Thaddeus Amat, C. M., who for the first time administered Confirmation on December 8, 1855, to 124 persons, in the parish church, built by Fr. J. J. Jimeno. The Register closes with No. 3157 on October 3, 1857.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Fr. González Rúbio, Administrator of the Diocese.—Secures Priests from Outside.—Immigration.—Rt. Rev. José Sadoc Alemany, O. P., First Bishop of Monterey.—Arrives at Santa Barbara.—Appoints Fr. González His Vicar-General.—Santa Inés Mission and Seminary Ceded to Picpus Fathers.—Novitiate to Be Established.—Bishop Alemany Energetic Patron of the Move.—Secures Approbation from Rome.—College and Novitiate Founded.—Documents.

THE Very Rev. Fr. José Maria González Rúbio, who as administrator had ruled the orphaned Diocese of Both Californias since May, 1846, was at last to be relieved of his burdensome office. The discovery of gold on January 24, 1848, had drawn to California an ever-growing multitude of adventurers from almost every nation on the globe. Americans, Irish, English, and Germans, however, predominated, a considerable portion of whom were Catholics. At any rate, English-speaking priests above all were urgently needed. At that time the entire clergy consisted of seven Franciscans, including the administrator, and five secular priests, who attended the Mexicans and Indians.

In December, 1848, Fr. Rúbio succeeded in securing some Fathers of the Society of the Sacred Hearts, known as Picpus Fathers, and several secular priests. In December, 1849, at his invitation two Jesuit Fathers also arrived at San Francisco. The advent of these priests afforded much relief, but many more were in demand. A Council of the Bishops of the United States, held at Baltimore in May, 1849, finally petitioned the Holy See to appoint a Bishop for the vacant diocese. The Pope accordingly, on May 31, 1850, named the Very Rev. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, then Provincial of the Dominicans, first Bishop of Monterey with jurisdiction over whole California. Bishop Alemany was consecrated on June 30, 1850. He arrived at San Francisco



VERY REV. FR. JOSÉ MARIA GONZÁLEZ RÚBIO, O. F. M.

on December 6, 1850. His movements from that day are noted by himself as follows:

"December 14th. I leave for Santa Barbara to show my Bulls to the Vicar Capitular, and to take possession of the Diocese. The steamer would not touch at Santa Barbara, but left me and companion, Rev. Anthony Delmas, at San Pedro for Los Angeles.

"Dec. 25. Arrive at Santa Barbara in time to celebrate. Show my Bulls to the Vicar Capitular, who with Father José Jimeno and Father Francisco Sánchez, recognize the genuineness and acknowledge me the long expected Bishop of Monterey, and as such I take possession of the Diocese of Monterey, formerly called the Diocese of Both Californias, and I preach to the assembled people at the Old Mission.

"On the following days the Old Franciscan Missionaries explain to me that the tracts of mission land were, as they believed, *the real property of the Indians,* who cultivated the same under their direction, and more especially under their alcaldes or chief Indian officers elected by the Indians themselves, and acting under the direction of the Fathers, but that the Churches, Church Edifices, Stores, Cemeteries, Orchards, and Vineyards with the Aqueducts should be considered the property of the Church.—J. S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey."

On December 30th, 1850, Bishop Alemany approved and certified the receipt of the "Libro titulado de Borradores," and thereafter occasionally used it as a journal down to the year 1882. On January 2, 1851, the Bishop's entry reads: "Father González hands me the documents of the Archives of the Diocese, including important papers, history, correspondence, etc., on the Pious Fund, all the Pontificals and Articles belonging to my predecessor, with some pieces of gold, the alms and offerings of past years, belonging to the Diocese. Continuing there for several days, he gave me much explanation on the state of the Diocese, the difficulty of Bishop García Diego in obtaining a place as residence,

and the non-fulfilment on the part of Mexico of providing for him as promised. At the same time I continue Nicholas A. Den as administrator of the Santa Inés College Ranch." [1]

On January 13, 1851, while still at Santa Barbara, Bishop Alemany issued his first Pastoral to his Diocesans. Therein he warned the people above all to preserve the Faith, which hordes of false teachers were endeavoring to take away by specious arguments.

Finally, January 24, 1851, Bishop Alemany appointed Fr. González Rúbio, his vicar-general, for all that part of California from San Miguel, inclusive, south to Cape San Lucas, Lower California, which he still regarded as under his jurisdiction. The new vicar-general took the oath of office before Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno on January 28, 1851. Whether the Bishop still tarried at Santa Barbara till that date, it is impossible to determine. He probably embarked there for Monterey, and reached the place fixed by Rome for his residence on the third or fourth of February; for the next entry, February 4, reads: "I establish myself at Monterey, receiving board and lodging from the kind hospitality of the González family and of Don Manuel Jimeno and others.[2]

In the meantime Fathers José Joaquín Jimeno and Francisco Sánchez, rector and vice-rector respectively of the diocesan seminary at Mission Santa Inés, in May, 1850, surrendered their charge to the Picpus Fathers, and retired to Mission Santa Barbara. From here they would visit the various Mexican settlements and Indian rancherías preaching missions or spiritual exercises until November, 1850, when on the death of Fr. Blas Ordaz they proceeded to act as curates for ex-Mission San Gabriel and the parish of Los Angeles till other priests could be secured. Toward the end of 1851 they ceded both places to the Picpus Fathers, and once more retired to their beloved Santa Barbara Mission to preach missions in the surrounding country.

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1 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, 683-684; 261-262.

2 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, 684.

Save Fr. Antonio Ánzar of Mission San Juan Bautista, who however left in 1854, the four Franciscans now stationed here were the last of the noble army of nearly one hundred and fifty friars that entered California as messengers of Christ, and brought eternal salvation and temporal welfare to as many as one hundred thousand natives. Fr. José Maria González Rúbio, the vicar-general, attended the parish in the City of Santa Barbara; Fr. Antonio Jimeno continued in the spiritual charge of the scattered Indians, and conducted divine services at the Old Mission; and Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno with Fr. Francisco Sánchez conducted retreats or missions outside. As in 1850, when at home, the four chanted the holy Office in choir, and performed the other spiritual exercises peculiar to religious in common. As yet no lay brothers had appeared to shoulder the domestic affairs of the big monastery. The four Fathers had to engage seculars or to help themselves as well as they could. By the aid of generous benefactors, however, and with the donations received for preaching missions, they managed to eke out a living. This state of things might have continued for some years, but what of the future? As no recruits could be expected from Mexico, nor from California, as the ill success of the seminary at Santa Inés had demonstrated, the little community was doomed to extinction unless some other means were discovered for perpetuating the Seraphic Order on this Western Coast.

After many deliberations, the four religious resolved to establish a missionary college on a small scale. It was to be similar to those of San Fernando de Mexico and Guadalupe de Zacatecas which had trained and supplied the missionaries for California and Texas. Students were to be enlisted in Spain, the country whence most of the missionaries had come to America since its discovery. When they proposed the plan to Bishop Alemany for his approval, his Lordship not only gave his approbation, but offered to advocate the founding of such an institution with a novitiate for his own brethren, the Dominicans, as well. Moreover,

WEST WING BEFORE 1897 WHEN THE SECOND STORY WAS BUILT. OBSERVE THE ROOF AND CORRIDORS. THE WHOLE MISSION FRONT WAS SIMILARLY CONSTRUCTED IN THE EARLY DAYS.

the good Bishop himself pleaded the case before the Holy See and with the Superiors-General of both Orders at Rome. His petition to Pope Pius IX reads as follows:

"Friar Joseph S. Alemany, of the Order of Preachers, by the grace of God and the favor of the Apostolic See, unworthy Bishop of Monterey in Upper California, prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, humbly represents: That the Religious of the Orders of St. Francis and of St. Dominic have labored with apostolic zeal, and with much fruit to the souls in this Diocese; but now similar Religious may not be expected either from Spain or from the Mexican Missionary Colleges. Desirous, however, of having religious men, who, inflamed with the spirit of poverty and of zeal for souls, may devote themselves to labor in these Missions, he humbly and earnestly supplicates that at least one convent or college of each of these Orders be established for the Missions in this Diocese, and that to them be granted a novitiate."[3]

The petition was granted, as will be seen from the following letter: "At an audience had with His Holiness on February 28th, 1852, our Most Holy Lord, by Divine Providence Pope Pius IX,—I, the undersigned Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, having explained the matter, and the desire of the Rev. Father Vice-General and of the Definitors of said Orders having been heard—graciously granted the petition. Given at Rome in the Office of said Sacred Congregation on the date and in the year as above. Gratis, without any fees under whatsoever title.—Al. Barnabo, Sec."

The reply of the Most Rev. Delegate-General of the Franciscans, the Superior-General being absent, to Bishop Alemany's petition of February 1, 1852, was as follows:

"With real pleasure to my soul I received Your Excellency's most precious letter of the 1st of February last, directed to the Most Rev. Minister-General (who is absent from the Capital holding visitations), in which you deign

[3] The copy in the archives bears no date; but the original was probably dated February 1, 1852, like the petition to the Superior-General.

to say such grand things about the poor religious, my subjects, existing in your venerable Diocese, and of whom notice is given that they plan a hospice or college in the Mission of Santa Barbara, or in some other locality, and that for such purpose authority is asked of the head of the Order to whom said religious are subject, to whose call they must respond absolutely and sincerely, since without it they would be without a lawful head, and without which they could not preserve themselves in true obedience to their vows. I, therefore, greatly appreciate the zeal of Your Excellency, and by virtue of the present letter I grant to the Rev. Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, Commissary-Prefect of the Missions, all the faculties necessary for the purpose of establishing a hospice or college at Mission Santa Barbara, or at any other place, and I also grant authority to receive and invest novices according to the circumstances of the new establishment.

"After the college has been organized with the religious existing in that Mission, according to the Rules of the Pontifical Bulls and of the Constitutions of the Order, they will all assemble in the name of the Lord to elect their own Superiors, and immediately forward the acts of the meeting to the said Father Minister-General for his approval and blessing. Moreover, for such electoral assembly I hereby wish to communicate the necessary authority. Meanwhile, I recommend to the great goodness of Your Most Rev. Excellency the said religious in order that you may help them and take them under your high protection, so that they may be of real utility to souls, and a credit to the Order of which Your Grace has deserved so well. I beg you, meanwhile, to accept the assurance of my sincere appreciation and profound respect.—Your Excellency's most humble and sincere servant, Fr. Antonio de Rignano, Delegate-General. Rome, Ara Coeli, April 1st, 1852."[4]

The Rt. Rev. Bishop immediately communicated the cheering news to the Fathers, who, with some misgivings, had

[4] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, 700-702.

awaited the outcome of the petition. The College of San Fernando, Mexico, was likewise notified, whereupon the Fr. Guardian, Fr. J. Orruño, hastened to California in order to attend the formal founding of the missionary college. When all preparations had been completed, the good Bishop himself made the long journey from San Francisco to congratulate the little community, and by his presence to add the weight of his authority to the proceedings.

The following papers recorded what took place on various dates: "In virtue of the Papal faculties, and with the cordial consent of the Right Rev. Bishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, the Very Rev. Fr. José Maria González (Rúbio), the Very Rev. J. Orruño, Guardian of the Apostolic College of San Fernando, Mexico, the Rev. Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, Prefect of the Missions in California, and the Rev. Fr. Francisco Sánchez, at a meeting held in this Mission of Santa Barbara, Alta California, on the fifth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1853, resolved that this Mission should be turned into an hospice,[5] and that the Rev. Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, a religious of San Fernando, should be the Superior. With the help of God this foundation will be the beginning of an Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith. This resolution, signed by all those interested, shall, for a perpetual remembrance, be the first document in the Archives, which shall commence with this event. Santa Barbara, Alta California, January 5th, 1853. Fr. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, Alta California; Fr. José Maria de Jesus González, Vicar-General; Fr. Jesus Orruño, Guardian; Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, Commissary-Prefect; Fr. Antonio Jimeno; Fr. Francisco de Jesus Sánchez."

Next day, Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1853, Bishop Alemany thoughtfully and generously presented the following document to the Fathers: "Gobierno Episcopal de Ambas

[5] Missionary home, house of refuge, retirement, recess, and recuperation.

Californias. Inasmuch as the Sons of our holy Father St. Francis have brought the Catholic Faith to these regions of Upper California, have incessantly preached it, and have irrigated the same with the sweat and the blood of apostolic labors, without failing to grace it with the flowers of evangelical virtues. We with the highest gratification of mind concede to them that they may establish an hospice and college for the Missions of their Order at Mission Santa Barbara, or, if this be deemed unsuitable, in any other place

MISSION GARDEN. ENTRANCE TO VESTRY. WATER TANK. VEGETABLE GARDEN BEYOND. MOUNTAIN RIDGE.

to be designated in Our Diocese, so that from there missionaries may go forth to convert to our Faith the pagan natives, and may organize Missions in accordance with the will of their regular Superiors. Given at Santa Barbara, Feast of the Epiphany of Our Lord, 1853.—Fr. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, Upper California.—Fr. J. Orruño, Pro-Secretary."

Three months later Bishop Alemany formally bestowed Mission Santa Barbara upon the Franciscans for the purpose of conducting there an ecclesiastical college. The document runs as follows:

Gobierno Episcopal de la Alta California.—Admodum Rev. P. Fr. José J. Jimeno, Pref. Missionum. Salutem.—"Inasmuch as the religious of the Order of our holy Father St. Francis, our most dear Brothers, have planted and cultivated the holy Catholic Faith in this Diocese with apostolic zeal and with great benefit to souls, We gladly permit them to establish an Apostolic College for Missions in the Diocese, and for this purpose We transfer to them the Mission of Santa Barbara, in such a way, however, that the Very Rev. Fr. Joseph González Rúbio remain pastor of the congregation as long as he may desire, and that he may always occupy those parts of the Mission which may suit him more. Given at San Francisco, Upper California, on the 18th day of April, 1853. Fr. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O. P., Bishop of Monterey, Upper California. The localities assigned to Very Rev. Fr. González will continue subject to the disposition of the Superiors of aforesaid College, after the death or departure of said Fr. González." Datum ut supra. Fr. José Sadoc, Epus. Montisregis, Cal., etc.—Fr. Antonio Jimeno, Pro-Secretarius.[6]

[6] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, 702-705. The original Latin documents are preserved in the Archives of Santa Barbara Mission.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

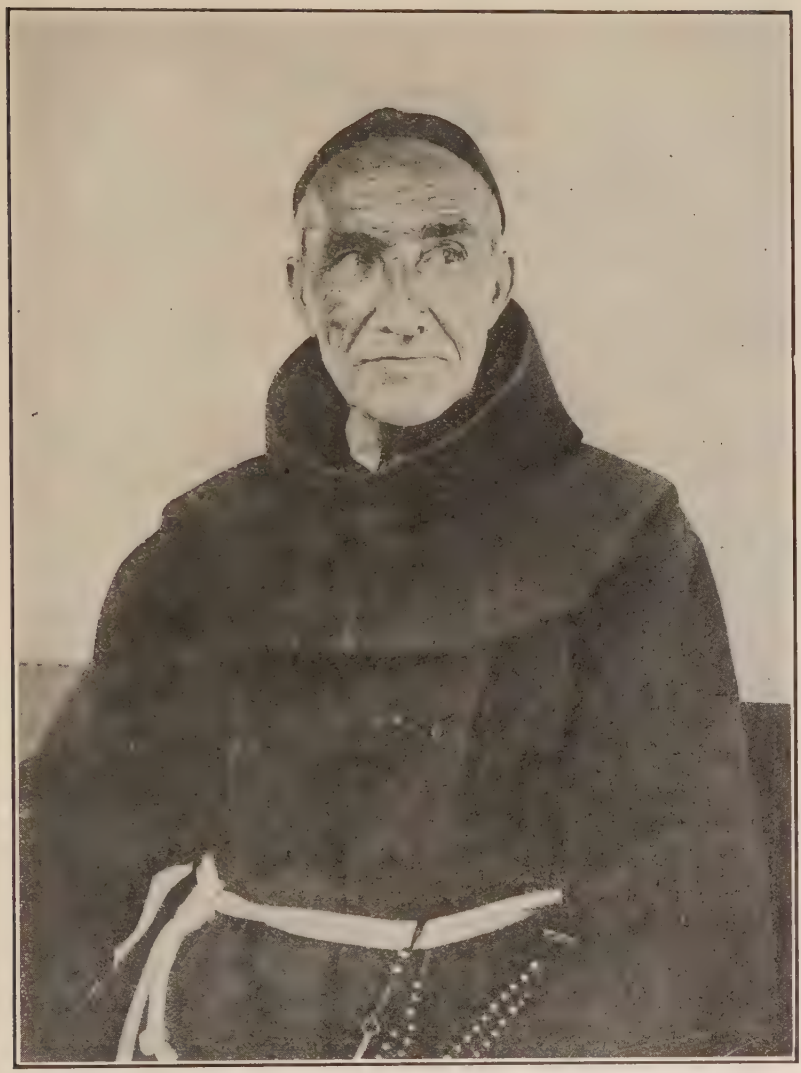
Mission Unsuitable for College.—Bishop Alemany Proposes Location in Townsite and House Purchased, Remodeled, Dedicated.—Ceremonies.—Reception of Three Spanish Novices.—Candidates from Ireland.—Bishop Alemany Becomes Archbishop of San Francisco.—Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M., Second Bishop of Monterey.—Fr. González Called to Mexico.—Superior-General Detaches Him from Jurisdiction of Mexico.—Bishop Amat Arrives.—Chooses Old Mission as His Residence.—Ordinations.—Exchanges Mission for Franciscan House in Town.—Rome's Permit.—Document.—Friars Retire to Mission.—Death of Fr. José J. Jimeno.

WHEN Fr. González Rúbio had selected his quarters at Mission Santa Barbara, along with Fr. Antonio Jimeno, who had been in charge of the neophytes since January, 1829, what remained of the buildings proved so unserviceable for a college and novitiate that Fr. J. J. Jimeno had to think of better accommodations. "Secularization" with its "comisionados" and "administradores" had played havoc in the sacred precincts, although, owing to the presence of Fr. Prefecto Narciso Durán, not on such an audacious scale as at other missionary establishments. It was concluded that the expense of repairing or remodeling would be heavier than the cost of constructing new buildings. On being consulted, Bishop Alemany decided that the little town of Santa Barbara would after all be a much more suitable place, because the people would be benefited by the college and its priests, whereas the distance rendered it impossible for some to attend divine services and instructions at the Old Mission. His Lordship accordingly authorized Fr. J. J. Jimeno to construct a convent for the teaching staff in the town, and to erect a church there as well.

Early in 1854, therefore, the Fathers purchased from Nicholas A. Den and his wife a lot of land with an adobe house near the intersection of State and Figueroa streets. The house was remodeled, and a chapel arranged therein for

the college community until the new adobe church could be finished. This new church edifice, though not a parish church, was used by the people because the old presidio chapel had long begun to decay. The college building was ready for occupation by the middle of July. The dedication took place on Sunday, July 23, 1854. On the same date three young Spaniards received the habit of St. Francis, and thus began the novitiate. The record of the proceedings, drawn up by Fr. Rúbio, is of such importance and interest that we reproduce an English translation entire as follows:

"In this City and Port of Santa Barbara, Upper California, and Diocese of Monterey, on Sunday, July 23, 1854, the Very Rev. Fr. José Maria González Rúbio, Vicar-General of the Diocese, the Very Rev. Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, Commissary Prefect of the Missions, the Fathers Missionaries Apostolic, Antonio Jimeno and Francisco de Jesus Sánchez, and the honorable Síndico, Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, together with many other gentlemen and a great many of the people having assembled in the chapel of the house destined for our Apostolic College of Missionaries of the Regular Observance of our Father St. Francis—which chapel was arranged in the main part of the building whilst the church is under construction, and which for the solemn celebration was decorated in the best manner possible—at nine o'clock in the morning of said day, High Mass was sung by the Very Rev. Vicar-General, assisted by the Commissary Prefect, Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, and Fr. Francisco Sánchez. After the first Gospel the Apostolic Letter of our Holy Father Pius IX, dated February 28, 1852, was read, together with those of our Most Rev. Delegate-General, Fr. Antonio de Rignano, dated Ara Coeli, April 1, 1852; likewise, the permission, given in writing on January 6, 1853, by the Most Rev. Fr. Joseph Alemany—then Bishop of the Diocese and now Archbishop of San Francisco—was published with the record of the founding of the hospice dated February 7, 1853, in which the Most Rev. Joseph Sadoc Alemany and the Very Rev. Fr. Guardian of



FR. JOSÉ GODAYOL, O. F. M., THE FIRST NOVICE. HE DIED, THE LAST OF THE SPANISH FRIARS, ON OCTOBER 30, 1902, AND WAS BURIED IN THE VAULTS OF THE MISSION CEMETERY.

San Fernando, Mexico, Fr. Jesus Orruño, had concurred personally and given authority.

"Thereupon, Fr. Francisco de Jesus Sánchez delivered an address suitable to the occasion. After High Mass the new Apostolic College of our Lady of Sorrows was declared erected in view of the letters quoted, of the written and verbal wishes of the Right Rev. Diocesan Bishop, of the clergy, and of the public who desired the said establishment. The Very Rev. José Joaquín Jimeno was acknowledged as the Superior of the community in accordance with the directions of the Most Rev. Delegate, in the absence, on account of visitations, of the Most Rev. Minister-General.

"At five o'clock p. m. the same day, the bells having been rung three times, the persons before mentioned, and a great multitude of people having assembled, the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin was recited in the new chapel. At its close, after the manner prescribed by our Constitutions, and after a touching address in keeping with so edifying a ceremony, delivered by the Superior—Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno—the habit of St. Francis was given to José Godayol, Francisco Codina, and José Alcina. The habit of lay brothers was bestowed upon Gerónimo López and José Hermenegildo Salgado. With the conclusion of this ceremony the Novitiate of this Apostolic Seminary of Our Lady of Sorrows was solemnly and legally declared opened, amid the joy and edification of those assembled, the ringing of bells, the discharge of cannon and muskets, followed by other festive demonstrations.

"In order that there always might be found a faithful and lasting record of the whole proceedings, complying with an order of the Very Rev. Fr. Superior, Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, I, the undersigned secretary, have drawn up the present document, of which three copies have been signed by all the persons named before, to which I certify, and which I likewise sign in this City of Santa Barbara on the

date as above.—Fr. José Maria de Jesus González Rúbio, Vicar-General of Monterey, California."[1]

The church, according to Fr. González Rúbio, was completed in the following year, and solemnly blessed and dedicated in honor of Our Lady of Sorrows on Sunday, July 29, 1855. It was constructed of adobe and roofed with tiles. The floor was of brick. The dimensions of the sacred edifice were sixty-nine feet in length, twenty-three feet in width, and twenty feet in height. It had a transept which from end to end measured fifty feet. An adobe extension, eleven by twenty feet, constituted the sacristy, the floor of which was made of planed boards. This church occupied the site of the present parish church in Santa Barbara, but faced the west. In order to defray the expenses of building, the following contributions were made: Fr. González Rúbio, as pastor and vicar-general, and from collections and voluntary offerings, etc., $6000; Most Rev. Archbishop José Sadoc Alemany, O. P., $500; Very Rev. J. Orruño of the College of San Fernando, Mexico, $500; Captain José de la Guerra, $500; and Don Manuel Jimeno, brother of the two Fathers Jimeno, $500.

The three young men, who had come from Catalonia in 1853, made the novitiate under Fr. Sánchez, the Master of Novices. In the following year, July 30, 1854, at about six p. m., in the church, they made their vows, Codina asking for the name Francisco de Asis, and Alcina for José Maria de Jesus. Fr. J. J. Jimeno, as Superior, accepted the vows.

When the Rev. Eugene O'Connell, Rector of the Seminary at Santa Inés, who later became the first Bishop of Grass Valley (Sacramento), heard of the founding of the Novitiate, he, under date of December 8, 1854, wrote from All Hallows College, Dublin, Ireland, congratulating Fr. J. J. Jimeno. He promised to co-operate, and as a proof of his sincerity, he informed Fr. Jimeno that he had interested two zealous Irish students, who were ready to leave for Santa Barbara, but lacked the means to pay the expenses

[1] *Santa Barb. Mis. Archives.*

of the journey. Three hundred dollars was accordingly sent to bring over one of the youths, Timothy Sheehan, who arrived early in 1856.

On March 5, 1856, just before the transfer of the Novitiate to the Mission, Timothy, native of Killaconenagh, Ireland, received the Franciscan habit between four and five p. m., from Fr. Sánchez, delegated therefor by Fr. Presidente Jimeno. He was the first English-speaking novice on the coast. In the following year, March 12, 1857, Sheehan made his vows at the Old Mission church into the hands of Fr. Antonio Jimeno, who had succeeded his deceased brother in the office of Superior. The new friar received the name he prayed for—Bernardin of Sienna.[2]

Unfortunately for the growth of the young plant, it lost the fatherly patron through a most important change in the ecclesiastical affairs of California. Writing from San Francisco to Fr. González Rúbio on October 18, 1853, Bishop Alemany thus communicated the momentous news: "Nothing more is lacking than the ceremonies of the *Burial of a Bishop,* in order to conclude my career. Actually, yesterday I received the documents—one, a Bull from the Pope, in which San Francisco is erected into a Metropolitan See; another in another Bull by which I am separated and removed from the See or Diocese of Monterey, and transferred to that of San Francisco; finally, a Brief by which I am authorized to exercise, before receiving the Pallium, what without said Brief I could not have exercised before receiving the Pallium. *Fiat voluntas Dei!* I should rather have preferred the smaller labor of Monterey, but there has been no option. I am glad that the burden has been divided. and thus the Diocese of Monterey can receive better care. On another occasion I shall transmit to you a copy of the Bulls. By the first you will see that the boundaries of the Diocese of San Francisco are the southern parallel of the parish or congregation of the pueblo of San José. Over

[2] *Santa Barb. Archives.*

RT. REV. THADDEUS AMAT, C. M., D. D., SECOND BISHOP OF MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA.

the country south of this I have no longer jurisdiction. The new Bishop of Monterey is the Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat of Barcelona, a Father of the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul, a man, I am assured, very distinguished for his humility and learning. As soon as he heard of his appointment he withdrew from Philadelphia to Spain, and thereafter he passed on to France for the purpose of taking passage to Chile, and so to hide himself. The Propaganda is trying to forward the Bulls to him. It is to be feared that he will decline, and thus there will be another delay of some additional months. By all means, I supplicate you, Father González, that you do not abandon the Diocese of Monterey."[3]

Lest the Monterey Diocese be without a head until the new Bishop could take possession, the Holy See, September 12, 1853, appointed Archbishop Alemany administrator. The Archbishop received the document on November 16. Three days later he appointed Fr. González Rúbio his Vicar-General with full authority to govern the Diocese until the arrival of Bishop Amat.

While thus holding the offices of vicar-general and acting administrator of the Diocese, Fr. González was embarrassed by requests from the College of Guadalupe to return to Mexico. The College Discretory went so far as to elect him guardian to succeed Fr. Antonio Castillo, who had died on April 28, 1855. The chapter held for that purpose under the presidency of Fr. Comisário-Prefecto Miguel Guzmán, took place on May 16, 1855. Fr. González received this news late in July. On August 19, and again on September 14, he explained his predicament. Owing to the offices he occupied, the scarcity of priests in the Diocese, the exceedingly small number of friars at the College of Santa Barbara, and the very urgent request of Archbishop Alemany, he felt in conscience bound to resign the office of guardian. The College Discretory, however, declined to accept his resignation, and moreover presented such weighty reasons

[3] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, 706-711.

for his return that he resolved to comply. Resigning the office of vicar-general, he notified Bishop Amat, then at San Diego, and Archbishop Alemany, and, without awaiting a reply from either, Fr. González quietly proceeded to take the steamer for San Blas early in February, 1856; but the people of Santa Barbara prevented his departure. Just as he was about to board the ship, they gathered around him and, forcibly putting him in a carriage, brought him back to Our Lady of Sorrows.

Immediately Fr. González from his prison, as he called it, informed the Discretory of Guadalupe, and again begged to be released of the office to which they had elected him. As Archbishop Alemany, and Bishop Amat himself, interceded, his resignation was at last accepted on April 19, 1856. Furthermore, on June 24, 1856, Most Rev. Fr. Bernardino de Montefranco, Superior-General of the Franciscans, perhaps at the request of the Archbishop, detached Fr. González from the College of Guadalupe and incorporated him in the College of Santa Barbara.[4] The new Bishop of Monterey, Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M., at length set foot in his Diocese at Monterey on Friday, November 23, 1855. On the 26th he was formally installed at the parish church by Archbishop Alemany. Beyond this we have no details of any celebration that may have taken place. Accommodations seemed to have continued as poor as ever at this city assigned by Rome for the Bishop's residence. At all events Bishop Amat found it unnecessary to tarry there long. Besides, the zealous prelate longed to become acquainted with the needs and prospects of his Diocese by means of a speedy personal visit. Taking passage, therefore, in the *Powhatan,* his Lordship moved southward, and reached Santa Barbara on Sunday, December 2, bringing along the relics of St. Vibiana, Virgin and Martyr, which had been discovered in Rome but the previous year. Pope Pius IX had graciously donated the precious treasure to Bishop Amat, who later on

[4] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, 711-713.

placed his cathedral under the protection of St. Vibiana. On December 4, the feast of St. Barbara, the relics were brought to the shore, and borne in procession to the parish church of Our Lady of Sorrows, then in charge of the Franciscans.

From Santa Barbara the Bishop appears to have gone south by land in order to visit the churches on the way to Los Angeles. At the last-named city his Lordship probably celebrated the feast of the Nativity. Three days later, December 28, he issued his first *Pastoral* to his diocesans.

During the month of January, 1856, Bishop Amat appears to have visited the churches to the south of Los Angeles as far as San Juan Capistrano; but by February 15 he was back at Santa Barbara, and took up his residence at the Old Mission, making the Mission church his pro-cathedral. On February 23, the Bishop appointed Fr. González Rúbio his vicar-general.

Next day his Lordship conferred the Tonsure and Minor Orders on the seminarians Francisco Mora, Vicente Llover, and Domingo Serrano y Franco, and on the three Franciscans of the Colegio in the city José Godayol, José Maria Alcina, and Francisco Codina. Saturday, March 8, these young students and Cajetan Capdevila were made subdeacons. On Wednesday, March 12, the Bishop raised to the deaconship Mora, Capdevila, Llover, Serrano, Ciprian Rúbio, and the Franciscan Codina. The same ecclesiastics, except Codina, were finally ordained priests on Wednesday in Holy Week, March 19, 1856. These were the last ordinations that took place at the venerable Mission church until April 7, 1904.

The newly ordained priests were assigned as follows: Rev. Francisco Mora, the later Bishop, went to San Juan Bautista to take the place of Rev. J. Molinier, who had succeeded the last Franciscan, Fr. Antonio Ánzar; Rev. Francisco Cajetan Capdevila was sent to San Gabriel; Rev. V. Llover was stationed at Los Angeles; Rev. Francisco Domingo Serrano remained with the Bishop; and Rev. Ciprian

Rúbio proceeded to Santa Inés in order to take charge of the seminary and parish.

Bishop Amat soon tired of the Mission outside the town, and therefore tried to persuade the deceased Fr. J. J. Jimeno to cede the church and convent, which the Franciscans had erected at Santa Barbara, for the Mission and its lands. The Fathers consented, but reminded the Bishop that such a transfer of property in charge of the Franciscans could not be effected without the permission of the Holy See. His Lordship, accordingly, addressed the following petition to Pope Pius IX:

"Most Holy Father:—Thaddeus Amat, of the Congregation of the Missions,[5] unworthy Bishop of Monterey, California, prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, most humbly prays, that, in order to insure the stability of the College of the Propagation of the Faith of the Friars Minor of the Observance of St. Francis, lately established in the City of Santa Barbara, Upper California, the same be transferred to the house of the Mission of Santa Barbara, and that to them be granted the perpetual use of said Mission church, two gardens, and vineyard for their maintenance sub titulo sustentationis, and that their church and house pass over to the use and the property of the Diocese."

Reply of the Holy See:

"In an Audience had with His Holiness on July 26, 1856, Our Most Holy Lord, Pius by Divine Providence Pope the Ninth, after the undersigned Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith had presented the matter, and the consent of the Most Rev. Minister-General of the Order of Friars Minor of the Observance had been obtained, graciously granted the petition as presented.—Given at Rome on the day and in the year aforesaid. (L. S.) Cajetanus Archpus Thebarum, Secr."[6]

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[5] Bishop Amat belonged to the religious Congregation whose members are known as Vincentians or Lazarists.

[6] *Santa Barbara Mission Archives.*

The Franciscans thereupon withdrew from the church and convent, which they had established in the City of Santa Barbara, and retired to the foothills, to the Old Mission, which their predecessors had likewise established seventy years before. Thus for all time to come, or so long as may please Divine Providence, the hallowed structures and the gardens, which from the very foundation of the Mission had never been without one or more Franciscan Fathers, even while the Bishop resided there, became the permanent home of the last remnant of the old missionary band that had civilized and Christianized California.

The little Franciscan community had placed their college under the patronage of Our Lady of Sorrows. Now that the three Fathers with their clerics and novices took up their quarters at Mission Santa Barbara, they were loath to forfeit the title. Hence they petitioned the Pope for permission to retain the Mother of Sorrows as their principal Patroness. They, furthermore, petitioned His Holiness to grant them, and all who visited the Old Mission church on the third Sunday in September, or within the octave of the feast, and on the Friday before Palm Sunday, the same indulgences granted to those who visit St. Peter's church at Rome, provided they received the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist. The Holy Father on December 28, 1856, graciously granted all that was asked.[7] Thus it was that the

[7] "Ea propter ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provoluti suppliciter petunt, ut Beatissimam Virginem Mariam in devotissimo mysterio Dolorum uti principalem Patronam illius novi Collegii benigne approbes atque declares, Oratoribus ac omnibus fidelibus rite confessis et Sacra Communione refectis visitantibus praefatam Ecclesiam in Dominica tertia Septembris et ejus octava, necnon in feria sexta hebdomadae Passionis, Indulgentias easdem concessas visitantibus Basilicas SS. Apostolorum Petri et Paula in Urbe Roma de amplissima benignitate impertiri digneris."—"Ex. Audientia SSmi habita die 28 Decembris, 1856, Summus Dominus Noster Pius Divina Providencia PP. IX., referente me infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide secretario, benigne annuit pro gratia in omnibus juxta petita. Datum Romae ex aed. dic. S. Congreg. die et anno supradictis. Gratis sine ulla solutione quocumque titulo.—Cajet. Archiepiscopus Theba. a Secretis."—"Sta. Barb. Arch."

OUR LADY OF SORROWS. BEAUTIFUL STATUE CARVED FROM WOOD, BROUGHT TO SANTA BARBARA IN 1801. IT NOW GRACES A PRIVATE ALTAR IN THE UPPER CORRIDOR OF MISSION SANTA BARBARA.

college, seminary or school at the Mission of Santa Barbara became known as the College of Our Lady of Sorrows.

Before the change from Santa Barbara to the Old Mission had been effected, the Franciscan College and Novitiate at Our Lady of Sorrows, Santa Barbara, suffered a great loss in the death of the founder and Superior, Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, who passed away on Friday, March 14, 1856, at the age of only fifty-two years. "I feel," Archbishop Alemany wrote when notified, "very much the loss of the venerable Father José. He lived the life of a saint, and it is evident that he closed it like a saint. I almost invoke him in heaven on behalf of the Church in California."

Before the end of the year 1856, with which the Mission history may be said to close and modern history begins, the Fathers once more had official news from the Mother College of San Fernando, Mexico. On October 15, 1856, Fr. Guardian J. Maria Covarrúbias informed Fr. Presidente Antonio Jimeno that the chapter of October 11th had elected Fr. Jesus Orruño comisário-prefecto of the Missions; that he himself had been re-elected guardian; and that the *discretos* chosen were Fr. Francisco Vecino, Fr. José Maria Pérez, Fr. Gabriel Rodríguez and Fr. Francisco Álvarez.[8]

[8] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Views of U. S. Officials Regarding the Mission Property.—Steps Taken by Bishop Alemany.—Land Commission.—Property Claimed.—Case Decided in Bishop's Favor.—Amount of Land Conceded to Mission.—U. S. Patent to the Land and Appurtenances.—The Survey.—Last Act in the Drama.—President Lincoln's Signature.

WE HAVE yet to chronicle the final disposition made of the Mission property. Pio Pico, it will be remembered, without any authority whatever, had sold sixteen of the twenty-one Missions, Santa Barbara Mission included, and only circumstances beyond his control had prevented him from disposing of the remainder. United States officers quite early suspected that Pico had not only exceeded his power, but in some cases had committed fraud to benefit his relatives and friends. The United States authorities accordingly constituted themselves the watchful guardians of the property formerly belonging to the Missions. Squatters were ejected, and those claiming ownership were directed to present legal evidence. The churches, dwellings of the priests, cemeteries, orchards, and gardens were left in charge of the priests until the courts should decide otherwise.[1]

As soon as Bishop Alemany had taken possession of his Diocese, he set to work devising means to secure the property which, according to the laws of Spain, and which in this matter were recognized by the United States Government, belonged to the Church. Besides taking counsel with various dignitaries and lawyers, in his notes he states: "May 25, 1852. I consult Judge Taney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Washington, as to whether we should present our claims to the Mission lands in California before Congress or before the United States Land Commission in California. He said, before the United States Land Commission in

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1 *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, 723 et seq.

California empowered by Congress to determine all kinds of land claims in California."

Returning to San Francisco, Bishop Alemany immediately prepared to urge his claim before the Land Commission. "I employed E. Casserly, who soon got J. T. Doyle associated with him. My claim as Bishop of Monterey was presented by the latter counsel before the United States Land Commissioners. The Commission appears to have begun taking testimony on November 15, 1853. After the Commissioners had heard all the witnesses and had weighed the evidence, the Chairman, Alpheus Felch, on December 18, 1855, announced the decision and the reasons therefor. 'The property for which a decree of confirmation is asked,' Mr. Felch declares, 'in the case consists of the following, to-wit:

"'1. Lands alleged to have been granted by the Governor of California for the establishment and support of a College.

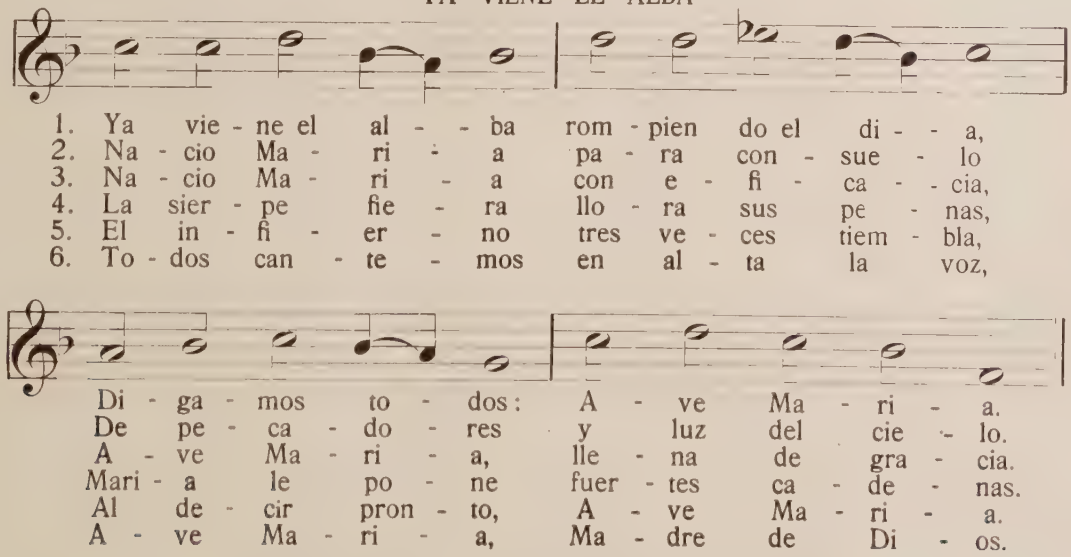
"'2. Land alleged to have been granted for the support of Divine Worship at the Mission of San Miguel.

"'3. Land averred to have been granted for the support of Worship at the Mission of San Luis Obispo.

"'4. The Church edifices, cemeteries, and priests' houses, with the curtilages and appurtenances, at the several Missions in California, and certain gardens and vineyards situated at or near said Missions.'"

We can easily imagine with what relief and satisfaction Bishop, now Archbishop, José S. Alemany, entered the following note in the *Libro Borrador:* "1855. December 18. Lands of the Catholic Church as petitioned for, or presented for confirmation to the United States Land Commissioners, confirmed to me by said Land Commission. Opinion of the Board delivered by Commissioner Alpheus Felch." The United States District Attorney took an appeal to United States District Court, but the appeal was dismissed in the following year. Hence this last entry in the *Libro Borrador:* "1856. No. 22. Appeal by United States Attorney subse-

YA VIENE EL ALBA


1. Ya vie - ne el al - - ba rom - pien do el di - - a,
2. Na - cio Ma - ri - a pa - ra con - sue - lo
3. Na - cio Ma - ri - a con e - fi - ca - - cia,
4. La sier - pe fie - ra llo - ra sus pe - nas,
5. El in - fi - er - no tres ve - ces tiem - bla,
6. To - dos can - te - mos en al - ta la voz,
Di - ga - mos to - dos: A - ve Ma - ri - a.
De pe - ca - do - res y luz del cie - lo.
A - ve Ma - ri - a, lle - na de gra - cia.
Mari - a le po - ne fuer - tes ca - de - nas.
Al de - cir pron - to, A - ve Ma - ri - a.
A - ve Ma - ri - a, Ma - dre de Di - os.

MORNING HYMN AT THE MISSIONS. SEE APPENDIX.

quently dismissed; and United States Patents sent accordingly."[2]

The amount of land allowed by the Land Commission to each Mission varied considerably. Santa Barbara Mission's share, including the site of the buildings, comprised two hundred and eighty-three and thirteen hundredths acres. The patent finally signed by President Abraham Lincoln bears date of March 18, 1865, and reads as follows:

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERCIA.

To All to Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:

Whereas, it appears from a duly authenticated transcript, filed in the General Land Office of the United States, that pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress approved the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, entitled "An Act to ascertain and settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California," Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey, in the State of California, as claimant, filed his petition on the nineteenth day of February, 1853, with the Commissioners to ascertain and settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California, sitting as a Board in the City of San Francisco, in which petition he claimed the confirmation to him and his successors of the title to certain Church property in California, "to be held by him and them in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated," said property consisting of "church edifices, houses for the use of the clergy and those employed in the service of the church, church yards, burial grounds, gardens, orchards, and vineyards with the necessary buildings thereon and appurtenances," the same having been recognized as the property of said Church by the laws of Mexico in force at the time of the cession of California to the United States; and whereas the Board of Land Commis-

[2] The decision of the Land Commission covers twenty-two octavo pages in print. See *The Missions and Missionaries*, iv, 721-771, for the whole story.

sioners aforesaid on the eighteenth day of December, 1855, rendered a decree of confirmation in favor of the petitioner for certain lands described therein to be held "in the capacity and for uses set forth in his petition," the lands of the Mission of Santa Barbara, being described in said decree as follows: The Church and the buildings adjoining the same, built in a quadrangular form, and constituting the Church and Mission buildings of the Mission of Santa Barbara, situated in the County of Santa Barbara, together with the lands on which the same are situated and the curtilage and appurtenances thereto belonging, and the Cemetery as enclosed by a stone wall and adjoining the said Church, and including the small chapel standing within the limits of said Cemetery. Also a garden known as the Mission Garden, situated at the distance of about four chains from the most southerly part of said quadrangle, the same being enclosed on all sides by an adobe wall, and being the same occupied and used for many years by the priests of said Mission. Also a Vineyard situated about twelve miles west of said Mission buildings, the fence enclosing the same constituting the boundaries thereof and being the premises occupied and used many years by the priests of said Mission and well known as the Mission Vineyard. The Garden and Vineyard intended to be confirmed by this decree are delineated on the map numbered 7 in the Atlas before referred to, under the designation of "Garden 16 A. 3 E. 2P.," and "Vineyard 8 A. 8 R. 2 Y.," and denominated "San Jose."

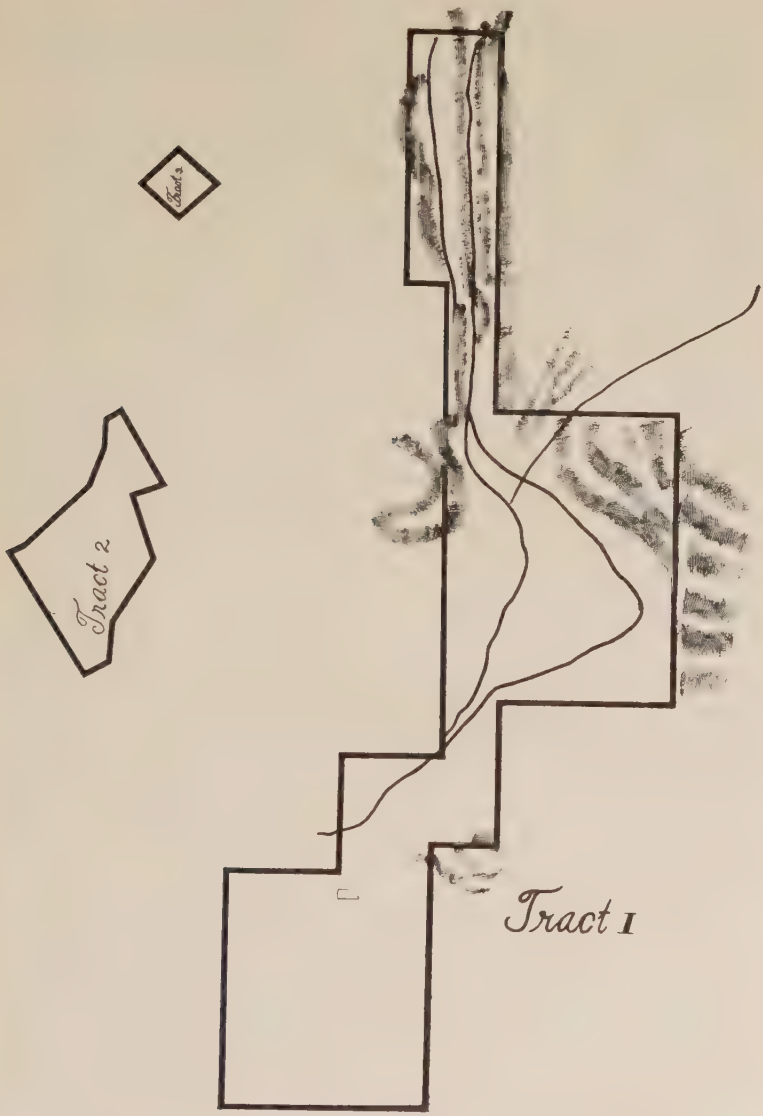
And whereas it further appears from a certified transcript filed in the General Land Office, that an appeal from said decree or decision of the Commissioners having been taken on behalf of the United States to the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of California, and it being shown to the Court that it was not the intention of the United States to prosecute further said appeal, the said District Court on the fifteenth of March, 1858, at the regular term "ordered that said appeal be dismissed and said

appellee have leave to proceed under the decree of the said Land Commissioners in his favor as a final decree."

And whereas under the thirteenth section of the said Act of third of March, 1851, there have been presented to the Commissioner of the General Land Office a plat and certificate of the survey of the tract of land confirmed as aforesaid, authenticated respectively on the twentieth day of March, 1862, by the signature of the Surveyor General of the public lands in California, which plat and certificate are in the words and figures following, to-wit:

"United States Surveyor General's Office,
"San Francisco, California.

"Under and by virtue of the provisions of the 13th section "of the Act of Congress of the 3rd of March, 1851, entitled "'An Act to ascertain and settle Private Land Claims in the "State of California,' and of the 12th section of the Act of "Congress approved on the 31st of August, 1852, entitled "'An Act making appropriation for the Civil and Diplomatic "expenses of the Government for the year ending the thir-"tieth of June, eighteen hundred and fifty-three, and for "other purposes,' and in consequence of the annexed copy of "a certificate of the United States District Court for the "Southern District of California having been filed in this "office, whereby it appears that the Attorney General of the "United States having given notice that it was not the in-"tention of the United States to prosecute the appeal from "the decision of the United States Board of Land Commis-"sioners, said decision having confirmed the title and claim "of Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop, etc., to the land constitut-"ing the Mission of Santa Barbara, the said appeal has "been vacated, and thereby the said decision in favor of the "said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop, etc., has become final. "The said tracts have been surveyed in conformity with "the grant thereof, and of the said decision, and I do hereby "certify the annexed map to be a true and accurate plat of "the said tracts of land as appears by the field notes of the "surveys thereof made by J. E. Terrell, Deputy Surveyor,



OUTLINES OF THE MISSION PROPERTY AS DRAWN AND DESCRIBED BY THE U. S. LAND SURVEYOR.

"in the month of December, 1860, and Ebenezer Nidever, "Deputy Surveyor, in the month of November, 1861, under "the directions of this Office, which having been examined "and approved are now on file therein.

"And I do further certify that in accordance with the "provisions of the Act of Congress approved on the 14th "day of June, 1860, entitled 'An Act to amend an Act en- "titled "An Act to define and regulate the jurisdiction of "the District Court of the United States in California in "regard to the survey and location of confirmed private "land claims."' I have caused to be published once a week "for four weeks successively in two newspapers, to-wit: The "Visalia Delta, published in the County of Tulare, being the "newspaper published nearest to where the said land claim "is located; the first publication being on the 8th day of "May, 1862, and the last on the 29th day of May, 1862; "also in the Los Angeles News, a newspaper published in "the City and County of Los Angeles, the first publication "being on the 7th day of May, 1862, and the last on the "29th day of May, 1862, a notice that the said claim had "been surveyed and a plat made thereof and approved by "me. And I do further certify that the said approved plat "of survey was retained in this Office during all of said "four weeks and until the expiration thereof, subject to "inspection. And I do further certify that no order for "the return thereof to the United States District Court has "been served upon me.

"And I do further certify that under and by virtue of the "said confirmation, survey, decree and publications, the said "Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop, etc., is entitled to a patent "from the United States upon the presentation hereof to the "General Land Office for the said tract of land, the same "being bounded and described as follows, to-wit:"

Here follow the survey and a minute description of the various tracts surveyed which would hardly interest the ordinary reader. From the surveyor's report, however, we

learn that three tracts of land were restored. They were as follows:

Tract No. I. This comprised the church and the other Mission buildings, gardens, and vineyards, "containing two hundred and seventy-four acres and fifty-three one hundredths of an acre."

Tract No. II., or Vineyard of San Jose, "containing seven acres and forty-seven one hundredths of an acre."

Tract No. III. Cienegita. "Containing one acre and thirteen one hundredths of an acre."

" In witness whereof I have hereunto signed my name " officially, and caused the seal of my Office to be attached " at the City of San Francisco this twentieth day of March, " A. D., 1862.

"E. F. Beale,

"United States Surveyor General."

"And whereas there has been deposited in the General Land Office of the United States a certificate dated June 27th, 1863, from the Clerk of the United States District Court for the Southern District of California showing that, in the cause entitled 'J. S. Alemany et al. Appellees ads The United States Appellants,' due notice by publication in manner and form as required by law has been made by the Surveyor General of the United States for California in the matter of the approved survey of the Mission 'Santa Barbara,' confirmed to the claimant and appellee in the above titled cause of J. S. Alemany vs The United States, and that the full period of six months from and after the completion of said publication has elapsed and no objection thereto having been made or filed the said approved survey has become final and the claimant and appellee entitled to a Patent for the said Mission."

Now Know Ye,

That the United States of America, in consideration of the premises, and pursuant to the provision of the Act of Congress aforesaid of 3rd March, 1851, have given and

GRANTED, and by these presents DO GIVE AND GRANT unto said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, and to his Successors, in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated, the tracts of land embraced and described in the foregoing survey; but with the stipulation that in virtue of the 15th section of the said Act the confirmation of this said claim and this patent, "shall not affect the interests of third persons."

To Have and To Hold the said tracts of land with the appurtenances and with the stipulation aforesaid, unto the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, and to his Successors, in trust for the religious purposes and uses as aforesaid.

In testimony whereof I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, have caused these Letters to be made Patent and the Seal of the General Land Office to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington, this eighteenth day of March, in the year of our [SEAL] Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

By the President,

A. Lincoln

J. N. Granger, Recorder of the General Land Office, Recorded Vol. 4, pages 346 to 355 inclusive.

Recorded at the request of Ulpiano Yndart, June 15th, A. D. 1874, at 9:30 a. m., in Book "A" Patents, pages 182-188, Santa Barbara County Records.

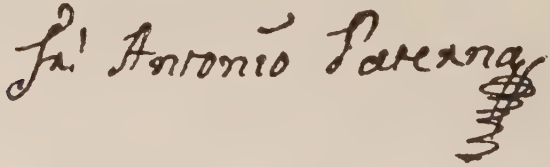
R. P. Stone, County Recorder, By John C. Platt, Deputy.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Biographical Sketches.—Fr. Antonio Paterna.—Fr. Antonio Dulanto.—Fr. Juan Lope Cortés.—Fr. Marcos Amestoy.—Fr. Antonio Jayme.—Fr. Antonio Menéndez, O. P.—Fr. Antonio Ripoll.

FR. ANTONIO PATERNA, the first of the missionaries who died at his post here, was a native of Seville, Spain. Beyond this fact nothing has been recorded of his antecedents. He entered the Franciscan Order in Spain, and later volunteered for the Missions in America. On reaching the College of San Fernando in Mexico City, he seems to have been at once sent to the Indian Missions of the Sierra Gorda, where Fathers Serra, Palóu, Lasuén, and others also labored for the welfare of the natives. It must have been about the year 1750 that Fr. Paterna arrived there. The records say that in 1770, the year in which he was selected for the California Missions, he had labored zealously for twenty years in the Sierra Gorda. With nine other friars he left the College in October, 1770, for Tepíc, near the Pacific Ocean. Here, at the Franciscan Hospice, they waited for an opportunity to embark, until January 20, 1771. During the journey and voyage Fr. Paterna acted as Superior of the little band. On March 21, they arrived at San Diego. Here again they were obliged to wait for the vessel that would take them to Monterey. Meanwhile Fr. Paterna assisted the Fathers at Mission San Diego and also baptized there. On April 14, all re-embarked and, on May 21, received a hearty welcome from Fr. Serra at Monterey. After the festivities of Corpus Christi, the various missionaries were assigned to their respective Mission field. Fr. Paterna and Cruzado were destined for Mission San Buenaventura, which had yet to be established. Setting sail once more, on July 7, 1771, the Fathers assigned to the south reached San Diego on July 14. Just as the expedition was

to start for San Gabriel, a number of soldiers deserted. Since threats were of no avail, Captain Pedro Fages asked Fr. Paterna to use his influence. He complied and succeeded in bringing the soldiers back to their duty. Finally, on August 6, in the company of the Fathers appointed to found Mission San Gabriel, Fathers Paterna and Cruzado departed for the north. All the church goods intended for Mission San Buenaventura were brought along in a pack train; but Captain Fages as yet did not find it convenient to establish the Mission, wherefore Fathers Paterna and Cruzado remained at San Gabriel, meanwhile assisting as supernumeries. After about a year, the two missionaries of San Gabriel, Fathers Somera and Cambon, retired to Mexico, and Fathers Paterna and Cruzado replaced them. Fr. Paterna's first entry in the Baptismal Register is dated November 2, 1772. He labored at San Gabriel till January,

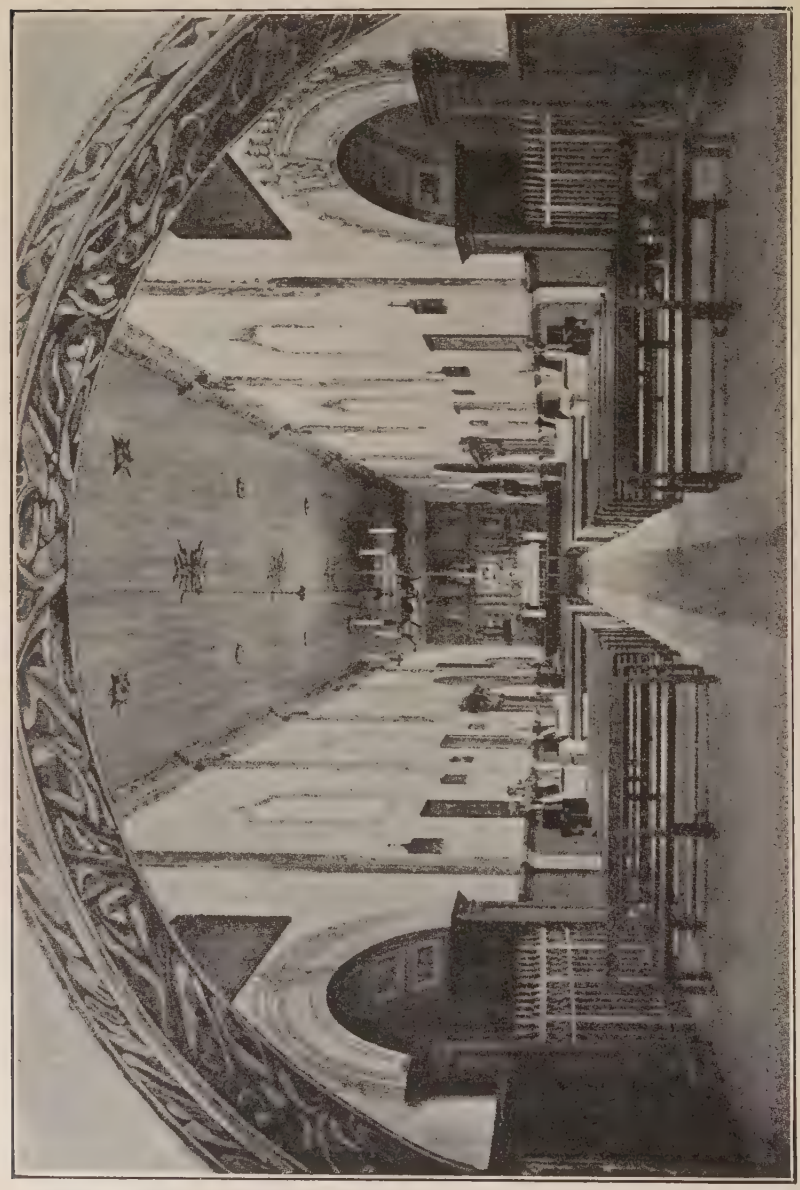


1777, when Fr. Serra reapportioned the missionaries and assigned Fr. Paterna to San Luis Obispo. Apparently, he then set out for San Diego, for we find him baptizing there on February 22, 1777. Here, it seems, he took ship for Monterey and from there set out for his new field of labor. His first Baptism at San Luis Obispo is dated October 1, 1777. He toiled at this Mission together with Fr. Cavaller until December 8, 1785, on which day he entered his last Baptism. He baptized at Mission San Antonio on January 7 and 22, 1786; at Mission San Carlos from October 3, 1784, to May 23, 1785, at intervals. Toward the end of October, 1786, he accompanied Fr. Presidente Lasuén to Santa Barbara. This we learn from Fr. Lasuén's letter to Commandante General Jacobo Ugarte, dated December 11,

1786, in which he remarks that Fr. Paterna had been at Santa Barbara since the end of October.

Thereafter, it seems, Fr. Paterna never left the boundaries of his Mission district. Fr. Lasuén himself bears testimony to Fr. Paterna's zeal and religious fidelity in a letter to Fr. Guardian Tomás de Pangua, in which, under date of February 24, 1793, he announces his death. "Yesterday, at night," he writes, "I received a letter from Fr. Joseph de Miguel with the sad news, which I communicate to your Paternity, that on the thirteenth of the present month, at three in the afternoon, after having devoutly and fully conscious received the holy Sacraments, assisted by the aforesaid Fr. Miguel and Fathers Dumetz and Arroita. The Rev. Preacher Apostolic Fr. Antonio Paterna died at the Mission which he had founded in honor of Santa Barbara, already advanced in years and having years before founded (rather having been present as supernumerary) that of San Gabriel. During all these years, he conducted himself like a good old man and to his death labored like one in robust youth, distinguishing himself in the judgment and in the view of all by the zealous discharge of the apostolic ministry."

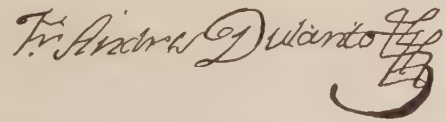
No one was better qualified to speak of the deceased missionary than Fr. Lasuén, who had labored with him in the Missions of the Sierra Gorda. For all that, the entry of Fr. Paterna's burial in this Mission Register is very meager. Nothing is recorded concerning the funeral services; but as these were always held strictly in accordance with the prescribed rubrics, the Fathers thought it superflous to repeat what was already known. Yet we should wish that mention had been made as to who celebrated the solemn exequies and preached the sermon. As it is, the entry records only this: "No. 199.—On February 14, 1793, ecclesiastical burial was given in the church to the body of the Rev. Fr. Antonio Paterna. He was a native of Seville, Spain. He arrived in these Missions of New California after having labored in the Missions of the Sierra Gorda in Mexico for twenty years, down to the month of May, 1770. He died yesterday, Feb-



INTERIOR OF SANTA BARBARA MISSION CHURCH.

ruary 13. He received all the Sacraments with great devotion; and he was a true son of our Father St. Francis.—Fr. Francisco Dumetz." We may add that Fr. Dumetz was one of the nine companions of Fr. Paterna, who in 1771 landed at San Diego to begin missionary work on the coast.

Fr. Andrés Dulanto came to California with nine other Franciscans, who had left the missionary College of San Fernando de Mexico at the end of March or in the beginning of April, 1804. Under date of May 1, of that year, Fr. Thomás de Pangua informed Fr. Presidente Tápis that the little band of ten friars, for whom Fr. José A. Urresti acted as Superior on the journey, had set out from Guadalajara for Tepíc on April 23, 1804. They reached Monterey Wednesday, August 15. Fr. Dulanto was assigned to Mission San Juan Bautista, and officiated there at a Baptism for the first time on September 4, 1804. Once, on January 12, 1806, he also baptized at Mission Santa Cruz. He con-

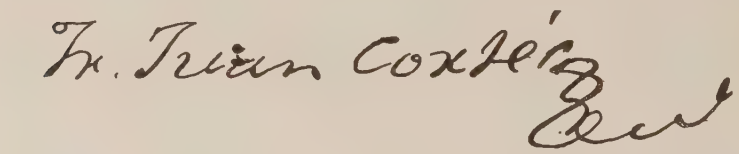


tinued at San Juan Bautista till May 19, 1808, when he entered his last Baptism. Ill health forced him to seek relief at Santa Barbara, where, a few months later, he passed to a better life. The entry of his burial in the Santa Barbara Register reads as follows:

"No. 1,708. Fr. Andrés Dulanto.—On September 12, 1808, in the church of this Mission, on the Epistle side close to the altar steps, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of Rev. Fr. Andrés Dulanto, preacher apostolic of the College of San Fernando de Mexico, and late missionary of the Mission of San Juan Bautista (who came to this Mission of Santa Barbara to recuperate, by order of the physicians), member of the holy Province of Cantabria and native of

Miranda de Hebro. He died after having received the holy Sacraments of Holy Eucharist as Viaticum, Penance, and Extreme Unction. In witness whereof I sign.—Fr. Marcos Antonio de Victoria."

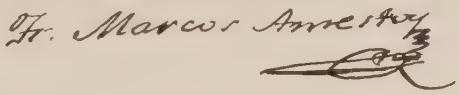
Fr. Juan Lope Cortés, of whose antecedents we know nothing more than that he left Spain most probably in 1795 in the company of Fathers Mariano Payeras, José Maria Fernández, Antonio Peyri, and José Viader. With these he landed from the *Aranzazú,* in June, 1796, most probably at Monterey. Fr. Presidente Lasuén assigned him to Mission San Gabriel, where he made his first entry in the Baptismal Register on August 19, 1796. He made the journey south probably on the *Camino Reál,* but at none of the Missions along the road did he officiate. His last entry at San Gabriel is dated April 22, 1798. From there he came



to Mission Santa Barbara, where he baptized for the first time on October 8, 1798. He continued here in company of Fr. Estévan Tápis till September 18, 1805, on which day he baptized for the last time. It was number 3,190 in the Register. On September 30, however, he officiated at a burial. He may have embarked at San Diego for he baptized at San Juan Capistrano on October 26, 1805. That same year, in November, he sailed for Mexico. On July 11, 1812, the College Chapter elected Fr. Juan Cortés one of the four *discretos* or councillors. He was re-elected on August 18, 1818. At the same time he was made vicar or assistant Superior, and procurator for the California Missions. This duty he discharged faithfully till January, 1828, when, owing to the foolish laws expelling all Spanish born from the Mexican dominion, he returned to Spain.

Fr. Marcos Amestoy, to all appearances, left Spain and

joined the College of San Fernando, Mexico, in 1803, but of his antecedents nothing is known. With nine other friars he left the College for the Missions in California in the month of April, 1804. On the 23rd we find the ten volunteers at Guadalajara, and on August 14, Fr. Amestoy with Fathers Cueva, Muñoz, and José Sanchez landed at San Francisco. He was assigned to Mission Santa Barbara, whither he probably sailed by boat, as we do not find any trace of him in any of the Missions on the Camino Reál. He officiated for the first time at Santa Barbara on November 7, 1804, when he performed the burial service for two Indians. His first Baptism was entered on November 29. While stationed at Santa Barbara Fr. Amestoy seems to have devoted himself entirely to his neophytes. At all events, he officiated at no other Mission than Santa Inés, where he bap-

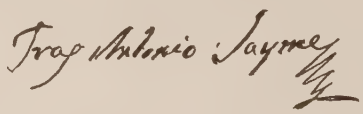


tized once on January 19, 1805, and once again on March 22, 1810. With Fr. Gil y Taboada, Fr. Amestoy passed through the trying times of the eathquakes in December, 1812. He remained at his post, however, until stricken by paralysis which deprived him of the use of one arm and one leg. His last entry in the Baptismal Register is dated July 11, 1813, and the last one in the Burial Register bears date of July 14. It seems he remained at the Mission, nevertheless, until two years later. At any rate, he did not retire to the College, as Fr. President José Señan reports, till September 22, 1815.

Fr. Antonio Mariano Francisco Miguel Gaspar Jayme de Seguras was born in January, 1757. This much we learn from the *Biographical Sketches* of the California missionaries, written by Fr. Comisário Prefecto Vicente de Sarría and dated November, 1817. At that time, the Fr. Comisário tells us, Fr. Antonio Jayme was fifty-nine years and ten months old. He writes also that Fr. Jayme "was a native

of the City of Palma on the Island of Mayorca. He received the holy habit (of St. Francis) in the Convento de Jesus *extra muros* of the said city, on December 7, 1774. After leaving his holy province for the College of San Fernando, Fr. Ant. Jayme, owing to the untimely death of Fr. Zeferino del Villar, who had been collecting for the said College, was appointed by the Most Rev. Fr. Manuel Trugillo, Commissary of the Indies, to take the place of the deceased and to finish collecting what was lacking. Meanwhile, Fr. N. Arevalo had been appointed by the same College for the same purpose. He came to Spain, and when ready Fr. Jayme embarked with him and reached the said College on August 2, 1794. In February, 1795, he set out for these Missions. Apart from the first year, which he passed as missionary at the Mission of San Carlos, he administered the Mission of Our Lady de Soledad thereafter, these twenty-one years."

On arriving at Monterey, in February, 1795, he was stationed at Mission San Carlos and baptized there for the first time on September 17, 1795. He remained apparently till October, 1795, since he baptized there for the last time on the first day of that month. Thereupon he was appointed for Mission Soledad, where his name appears for the first time in the Baptismal Register on May 18, 1796. The entry



is number 295. Meanwhile, he visited San Carlos and officiated at Baptisms in August and October, 1798; in May and August, 1801; and on December 9, 1811.

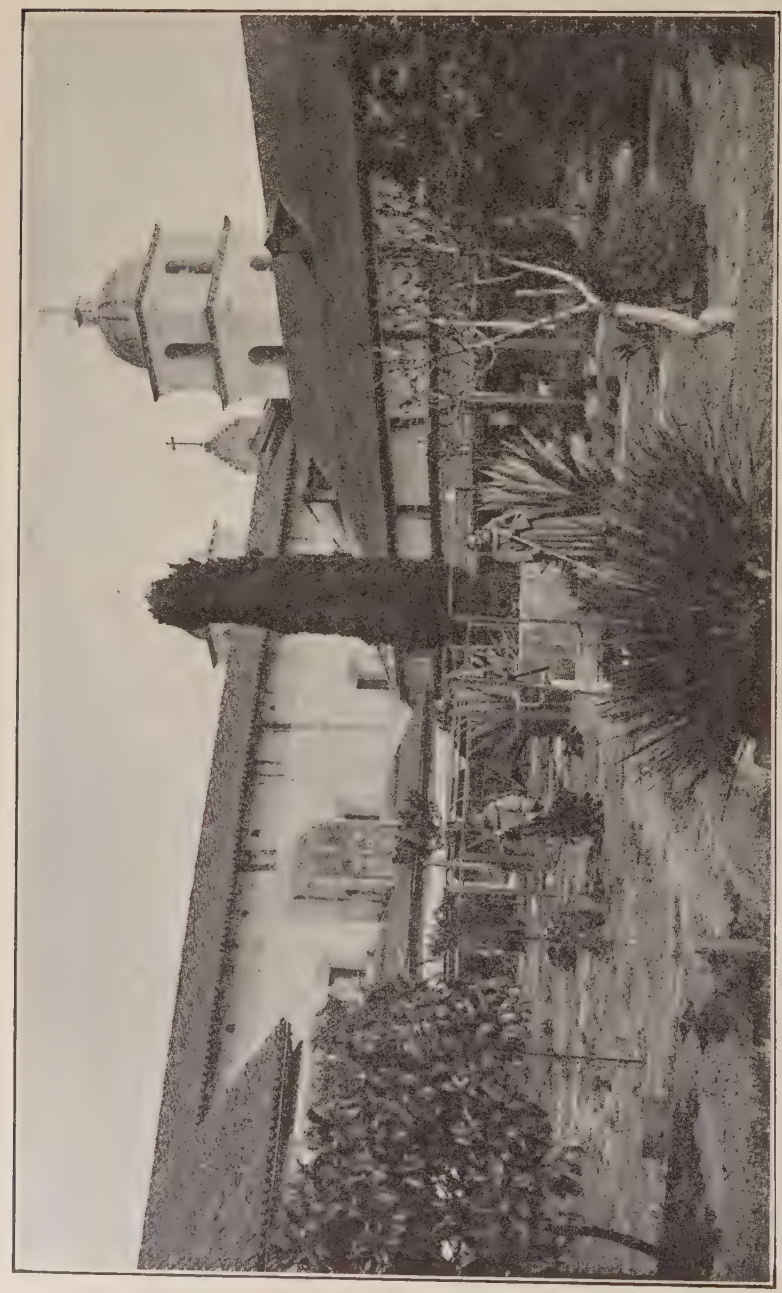
"His merit," Fr. Sarría continues, "so far as concerns the earlier years, it seems to me, does not exceed the ordinary. During the time of my office as Commissary Prefect, considering his age, especially aggravated by various corporal diseases, which he is suffering, he accomplished enough;

but with this and all that he is able to do, in view of his constitution and that of his companion, Fr. Ibañez (also aged and infirm), his efforts do not reach the full discharge of our ministry. For that reason, the said Mission of Soledad, served by two Fathers as I have described them, and myself unable for the present to come to its relief in any other way, is begging in justice to be relieved of its ministers."

The successor of Fr. Sarría, Fr. Prefecto Mariano Payeras, Fr. Ibañez having passed away to a better life, on December 31, 1820, gives some additional information regarding Fr. Jayme. He says that Fr. Jayme was for many years teacher in the primary schools. "His merit is more than ordinary for tenacity and constancy in the ministry; but his aptitude is only medium; and when rheumatic pains and other grave ills attack him, in addition to his age, he is hindered very much and his work amounts to nearly nothing."

By the spring of 1821, the poor friar's usefulness, due to constant illness, was almost gone. Accordingly, he was transferred to the more commodious Mission of Santa Barbara. His last entry in the Baptismal Register of Mission Soledad was dated February 17, 1821. At Santa Barbara he could do but little; wherefore we need not wonder that his name does not appear in the Baptismal Register till three years after his arrival, on January 6, 1824. His last entry is dated August 12, 1828.

At last, on December 1, 1829, death came to his relief. The entry of his burial in the Register of the parish church in Santa Barbara reads as follows: "No. 272. R. P. Antonio Jayme.—On December 2, 1829, in the crypt of the church of this Mission of Santa Barbara, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Antonio Jaime, native of Mayorca, member of the Province of the same place, collector for the College of San Fernando de Mexico. He served as missionary apostolic in various Missions of this Alta California, for a space of thirty and more years. He



MISSION GARDEN. FOUNTAIN IN THE CENTER. THE FAMOUS CYPRUS PLANTED BY THE FIRST BISHOP OF CALIFORNIA ABOUT 1845. IT WAS BLOWN DOWN BY A STORM IN 1909. TWO GREY FRIARS.

died at the age of 74 years, having received all the holy Sacraments with great devotion and religious tenderness. In witness whereof I have signed.—Fr. Antonio Jimeno."

Fr. Antonio Menéndez, O. P., whose mortal remains are buried in the Mission vault, came up from Lower California to San Diego with Governor J. M. Echeandia in October, 1825. Nothing is known of his antecedents beyond what the same governor wrote about him in a letter to the Mexican Minister of War, under date of December 6, 1828. His report reads: "Fr. Antonio Menéndez, a Dominican friar from Lower California, where he completed twelve years of missionary labors, was given a pass by his prelate, the Fr. Presidente, to return to his convent in Mexico; but since there was need of a chaplain at this presidio of San Diego, his services were engaged for a salary which the company granted him as its chaplain *pro tempore.* He is forty-three years old and conducts himself in an orderly way. He swore allegiance to the Independence while still a missionary, and since then he performed the functions of his ministry in conformity with the federal system. He has been found to favor it, and he has taken the oath on it in legal form." In the same year, on October 14, Echeandia notified Fr. Menéndez, "that the President

of the Republic, through the Minister of War, tells you that he will receive with pleasure your services as chaplain of San Diego."

At San Diego, Fr. Menéndez also conducted a primary school for a while, receiving from fifteen to twenty dollars a month from the town funds. He seems to have visited San Diego a year before his arrival in the company of

Echeandia, for he baptized by permit at the Mission on March 31, and at the presidio chapel of San Diego on April 25, 1824. Again we find his name in the Baptismal Register on May 25, 1825, when he baptized at the presidio. On this occasion, he signed himself *Ministro de San Vicente Ferrer, Baja California.*

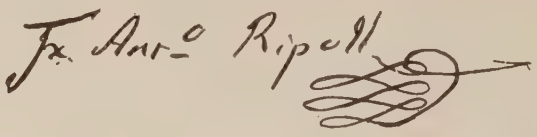
Fr. Menéndez baptized for the last time at the Mission on October 16, 1829. Thereupon he went to Monterey, perhaps in company of Echeandia, who went by land to the capital, in December. The legislative assembly allowed Fr. Menéndez $30 a month for acting as chaplain. He officiated for the first time at a Baptism in the presidio chapel on February 28, 1830, and for the last time on April 12, 1831. After that, Fr. Menéndez went to Santa Barbara and became chaplain of the presidio and town. He baptized for the first time at the Mission on June 23, 1831. It is number 4,530 in the Register. At the presidio chapel he officiated for the first time at a Baptism on November 6, 1831. This bore number 827. Fr. Menéndez continued as chaplain of the presidio till April 1, 1832, at the presidio, and by permit officiated at the Mission for the last time on August 19, 1831. Some entries seem to have been forgotten by Fr. Menéndez and found after his death on loose papers. As he died almost suddenly, he was not able to give an account of them. The entry of his burial in the Register of the presidio reads as follows: "No. 295. On April 14, 1832, in the crypt of the church of this Mission of Santa Barbara, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Antonio Menéndez of the Order of Preachers, missionary of Lower California, residing at the adjoining presidio in which he held the position of chaplain by permit of the Rev. Fr. Presidente Narciso Durán. On account of the almost sudden death, he could not receive more than the holy Sacrament of Extreme Unction. In testimony whereof I have signed.—Fr. Antonio Jimeno."

As usual, when Bancroft heard of the transfer of a friar, he smelled something wrong. He claims that Fr. Menéndez

was removed from Lower California Missions for irregular conduct, whatever that may mean with Bancroft. At all events, he gives no dates nor details whatever. Such methods are unworthy of an historian. When on August 24, 1911, the crypt was opened, the writer saw that the body of Fr. Menéndez had been buried in the full religious habit of the Order to which he belonged.

Fr. Antonio Ripoll, at the time that Fr. Sarría compiled his *Biographical Sketches,* was thirty-two years old. Like Fr. Jayme, he was a native of the City of Palma on the Isle of Mayorca. He received the habit of St. Francis on September 19, 1799, at the convent of San Francisco, in the same city. He reached the College of San Fernando de Mexico on June 20, 1810. In July, 1811, he was sent to the California Missions; but, as the roads were infested with revolutionaries, he could not reach Lower California till April, 1812. Presumably from Loreto, he made his way overland to San Diego, where he arrived on July 7. Here he may have taken passage in a ship bound for Monterey, or he may have landed at Santa Barbara. We do not find his name in any Register until it appears, for the first time, in that of Mission Purisima, on September 14, 1812. At this Mission he continued till May 1, 1815, when he entered the last Baptism. Meanwhile, he officiated once, on January 22, 1815, at Mission Santa Inés, and once, on April 17, 1814, at Santa Barbara Mission. In the following year, Fr. Ripoll was transferred to Santa Barbara, where he entered his first Baptism on June 14, 1815. It bore number 3,792. Thereafter he faithfully attended to his duties at Mission Santa Barbara and the neighboring presidio. We find his name but once at any of the other Missions, and that was at Santa Inés, where he officiated at a Baptism on July 30, 1822. His companion and senior at Santa Barbara was the venerable Fr. Francisco Suñer, who had been in ill health, however, for some years, so that to Fr. Ripoll fell the task of erecting the magnificent church at this Mission. At the time of the Bouchard attack, Fr. Ripoll organized an Indian

battalion of nearly 200 fighting men. The details of this event will be found in a preceding chapter. Fr. Ripoll's conduct during the Indian revolt was the reverse of his attitude during the Bouchard fracas, as has been explained at length in the proper place. When the politicians in Mexico passed the foolish laws expelling all Spaniards,



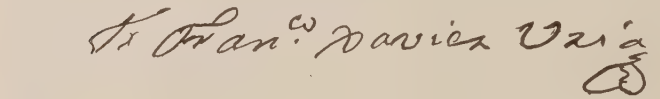
Religious included, from the Mexican dominion, Fr. Ripoll, in company with Fr. Altimira of Mission San Buenaventura, anticipating expulsion, left the ungrateful country. Both friars secretly took passage on the American brig *Harbinger* and sailed away on January 23, 1828. According to Bancroft, Fr. Ripoll, in 1832, was residing at his native city in good health.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Biographical Sketches Continued — Fr. Francisco Xavier Uría. — Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni.—Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego y Moreno. —Fr. Narciso Durán. — Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno. — Fr. Antonio Jimeno.

FR. FRANCISCO JAVIER DE LA CONCEPCION URÍA, according to Fr. Comisário Prefecto Sarría, was forty-seven years and two months old in November, 1817. He was a native of the Pueblo de Ayzarna, which in temporal matters belonged to the jurisdiction of the Villa de Cestona, in the Province of Guipuzcoa (Cantábria). He received the Franciscan habit in the Convento de Jesus in the City of San Sebastian, the House of Recollection of the Sacred Province (Franciscan) of Cantábria, on January 13, 1789. He embarked at Cádiz on May 8, 1796, bound for the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mexico. From there, on December 14, 1796, he was sent to the California Missions. He was at Santa Barbara from June 18, to September 18, 1797, and again on September 21, 1798. From 1797, he labored zealously at Mission San Fernando, until he retired to said College in 1805, in virtue of the license granted him for that purpose by Fr. Presidente who ruled the Missions. Yielding to zeal, on August 13, 1808, he returned to cultivate this same vineyard of the Lord. Mission Santa Inés was the one assigned to him by the Superior (not counting the few months that he served at Mission Santa Cruz, in 1808), and there he labored till near the end of February, 1824. "The hardships he underwent, and the industry and zeal he displayed, resulted in great success for him," Fr. Sarría writes. From Santa Inés, after a short stay at Santa Barbara, Fr. Uría went to Mission Soledad, where he officiated for the first time on December 28, 1824, and for the last time on February 10, 1828. On the way up, he baptized at Mission San Miguel on September 2, 3, 16,

and October 17, 1824. From Mission Soledad he was transferred to Mission San Buenaventura, where he baptized for the first time on February 6, 1828. He was now worn out and was suffering from various ailments, Fr. Sarría tells us, wherefore he received the permit to retire to the College and only waited for an opportunity to take passage in a ship bound for San Blas or Acapulco. Yet he continued at Mission San Buenaventura till 1833, where, on April 18, 1833, he baptized for the last time. By order of the physicians he repaired to Santa Barbara in the hope of regaining his health; but he was already beyond recovery and departed this life at the house of Captain De la Guerra on November 5, 1834. The entry of his burial in the Register of the parish is very brief. It reads: "No. 325. R. P. Fr. Francisco



Javier Uría.—On November 6, 1834, in the crypt of the church of this Mission, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Preacher Apostolic, Francisco Javier Uría, ex-missionary of San Buenaventura. He received the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. In testimony of which I have signed. Fr. Antonio Jimeno."

Bancroft has this to say of the deceased: "Padre Uría was stout in physique, jolly in manner, addicted to pleasantries and jokes, indulging sometimes in coarse language, kind hearted and well liked, though at times very quick tempered. He was an excellent manager of temporal affairs, and was noted for his generosity, especially to the Indians," which all agrees with the numerous letters from his hand still extant among the *De la Guerra Papers*. Like nearly all the Fathers, Fr. Uría in 1826 refused to take the oath of allegiance to the so-called Republic of Mexico, which has

ever since demonstrated that it is not a republic, that is to say, a country having a government of and by the people.

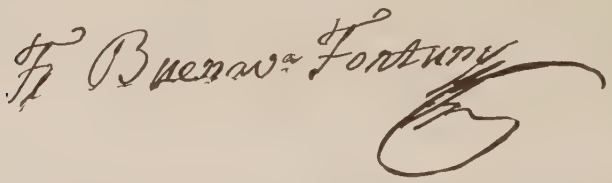
Fr. Comisário Prefecto Mariano Payéras thus speaks of the deceased, on December 31, 1820: "His merit is distinguished for his fine skill and effectiveness in this ministry, and his aptitude is not limited to it, rather also for the ministry among the faithful, and for some medium commission and office in the cloister."

Fr. Buenaventura Fortuny, we learn from Fr. Sarría, "was 43 years and ten months old in November, 1817. He first saw the light in the Pueblo of Moster, Archdiocese of Tarragona in the principality of Cataluña. In the convent of Our Holy Father St. Francis, Villa de Reus, which belongs to the Order in the Province of the same name, he received the holy habit on October 30, 1792. On May 3, 1803, he embarked at Cádiz for the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mexico, where he occupied himself in the duties of the community and in preaching one or the other mission among the faithful, until 1806, in which year he came to California, landing at Monterey June 6. Destined by obedience for Mission San José, he administered it till this day (November 17, 1817) with much benefit to the Mission. What is to his especial credit is the view he takes, which to me seems deserving of note, that, although being a strict Religious, he burdens no one else, and, although being a strenuous missionary in the fulfilment of his duties, he does not at all meddle with that which is not under his inspection. Because it is his particular merit, which is much greater, it is considered that for years, during which he served in the ministry, he made a sacrifice of all the many anxieties of his retirement on the altars of obedience and necessity."

In December, 1820, Fr. Prefecto Mariana Payéras writes of Fr. Fortuny: "His merit is as laudable as his simplicity and zeal. His aptitude for a good missionary in both branches of the ministry, that is to say, among faithful and

infidels, renders him suitable as missionary among the faithful as well as among the Indians."

It seems that after landing in California, Fr. Fortuny at once went to Mission San José, for we do not find his name in any other Mission at this period. He baptized at this Mission in September, 1806, and, as he says in the entry, it was his first time. There had been no Baptisms since May, however. With Fr. Durán he signed the Annual Report of 1806. Thereafter he remained at this Mission until September 5, 1826, when he baptized number 5,546. Then he



succeeded Fr. Altimira at the new Mission of San Francisco Solano, where he baptized for the first time on September 30, 1826. The entry bore number 228. He remained alone at this place till the arrival of the Zacatecan Franciscan, Fr. José Gutiérrez, baptizing for the last time on March 15, 1833.

From Mission Solano, Fr. Fortuny was transferred to that of San Diego, where he baptized for the first time on September 22, 1833. He seems to have come down by land, since he officiated at a Baptism at San Buenaventura on April 18 of that year. He remained at San Diego till July 27, 1834, on which day he made his last entry. From there he went to San Luis Rey, staying there till July, 1837. Thereupon he set out for Mission San Buenaventura, where he baptized for the first time on July 16, 1837. Here he labored till 1840, when his health could bear the strain no longer. His last entry was made on November 22, 1840. In his last days, he went to Santa Barbara for medical treatment and care at the house of José Antonio Aguirre, where he died on December 16, 1840.

The entry of his burial in the Register of the parish reads as follows: "No. 416. R. P. Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni, Missionary of San Buenaventura. On December 18, 1840, in the crypt of the church of this Mission, Very Rev. Fr. Presidente José Joaquín Jimeno gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the R. Fr. Preacher Apostolic Buenaventura Fortuni, native of Cataluña and missionary of the neighboring Mission of San Buenaventura. He received with great edification the holy Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. In testimony whereof I have signed. Fr. Antonio Jimeno."

Rt. Rev. Fr. Francisco García Diego y Moreno, O. F. M., was born of good and well-to-do parents at Lagos in the State of Jalisco, Mexico, on the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, September 17, 1785. At the age of twelve years he began to study for the priesthood in the seminary of Guadalajara. In 1803, he received the habit of St. Francis and began his novitiate at the Apostolic College of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, and on November 13, 1808, he was ordained priest. In 1816, Fr. Francisco Diego was elected master of novices, which office he exercised until his appointment as professor of philisophy in 1820. Two years later he was selected one of the four College *discretos* or consultors. In 1828, he was re-elected to the same office and at the same time appointed, by the Commissary General, commissary prefect for the Indian Missions subject to the College. In this capacity, in 1832, he set out with eight Franciscan friars for the California Missions and arrived at Monterey on Tuesday, January 15, 1833. From that date to the day of his death, his administrative acts as commissary, his appointment to the See of Both Californias, and his administrative acts as Bishop to the day of his death, on April 30, 1846, will be found in detail in volumes III and IV of *The Missions and Missionaries of California.* Here we need only to reproduce the entry of his burial as found in the parish Register of Santa Barbara. It reads as follows: "No. 692. On May 3, 1846, the Most Rev. and

First Bishop of this Diocese, Don Fr. Francisco García Diego, was buried with the solemnity possible, in a new sepulcher made for the purpose in this Mission church of Santa Barbara, which His Lordship from the arrival in the Diocese had selected as his *Hospicio Episcopal.* The said Bishop died on April 30, last past, at twelve o'clock in the night, at the age of sixty years, seven months, and thirteen days,—five years, six months, and twenty-four days after his consecration in Mexico; and four years, four months, and nineteen days after his entrance into this Diocese; and after

SEAL OF BISHOP GARCÍA DIEGO
(NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL REFÚGIO).

receiving with great edification the holy Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. To which I, the undersigned, affix my name in due testimony.—Fr. José Maria de Jesus Gonzáles."

Fr. Narciso Durán was born December 16, 1776, at Castellon de Ampurias, in the Diocese of Gerona, Catalonia. In the Franciscan monastery of Gerona he received the habit of St. Francis, on May 3, 1792. After finishing the usual studies, he was ordained priest on Saturday, December 20, 1800, in the Bishop's chapel, Barcelona, by the Bishop of the Diocese, Rt. Rev. Pedro Diaz de Valdez. Three years

later, on May 3, 1803, he and Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni embarked at Cádiz for the Apostolic College of San Fernando, Mexico, from where, in 1806, the two friars were sent to California. With Fr. Fortuni, on June 6 of that year, he arrived at Monterey and at once received his appointment for Mission San José. Here he labored assidously till his last entry on April 8, 1833, when he left for Santa Barbara in order to yield his Mission to the Zacatecan Father who had meanwhile been appointed. During all these years we find his name only once, in May, 1813, at Mission San Francisco. He visited Mission Santa Clara perhaps oftener on feast days. There is still extant a sermon which he preached at Santa Clara on the occasion of the titular feast. Barring a visitation tour as far as Mission San Diego, in July, 1833, Fr. Durán remained at Mission Santa Barbara, attending chiefly to the people of the presidio, while Fr. Antonio Jimeno had charge of the Indian neophytes at the Mission. Meanwhile, Fr. Durán fought the battles for the Missions against the greedy paisano chiefs whose machinations he exposed and opposed.

Fr. Comisário Prefecto Vicente de Sarría, as early as November, 1817, wrote of Fr. Durán as follows: "His aptitude for other offices can not be doubted." On December 31, 1820, Fr. Payéras wrote: "His merit is distinguished and his aptitude is for a complete apostolic man in both fields and for such offices and prelacies which it may be deemed well to bestow upon him." As his administrative acts have been described in volumes III and IV of *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, we need not repeat them here. A sentence addressed by Rev. Patrick Short to the noble old man on September 14, 1836, is, however, illuminating, and shows what Fr. Durán really was for the Missions and for Religion in general. "I have observed," Fr. Short says, "and felt very much the vexations which Your Paternity suffered a little while ago at the hands of the Chicos and chiefs of the country. All this, to me, is proof that the presence of Your Paternity here is giving the

demon much pain."[1] Fr. Durán's last entry in the Mission Register of Baptisms is dated January 26, 1842, which he himself signed, while Fr. Antonio Jimeno made the entry. It bears number 4,686, and the subject was a child of Indian parents of Mission San Luis Rey. He gave it the name Narciso.

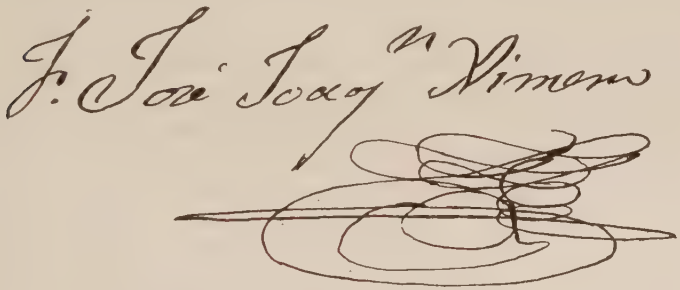
Fr. Durán closed the First Book of Baptisms of the presidio or town of Santa Barbara as follows, i. e., the note is in the hand of Fr. González, but the signature is Fr. Durán's: "I, the undersigned Commissary Prefect of the Missions and missionary in charge of this one of Santa Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, declare as concluded the present First Book of Baptisms, ending it with the entry written under number 1,709. In witness whereof I have signed this day, January 6, 1846, the Day of the Epiphany of the Lord. Fr. Narciso Durán, Comisário Prefecto de Misiones."

Fr. Narciso Durán passed to his eternal reward a month after the demise of Bishop Diego, on June 1, 1846, at five o'clock in the afternoon. The entry for his burial reads: "No. 695. On June 3, 1846, in the crypt of this church of Santa Barbara, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Very Rev. Fr. Narciso Durán, Presidente of these Missions, Vicar Forane to the Bishop of Sonora, twice Commissary Prefect of these Missions, and actual administrator of this Diocese of the Californias, who, after a long life, entirely spent in the sacred ministry and in the exercise of all virtues, died at the age of seventy years, having with great edification received the holy Sacraments. In due testimony whereof I have signed.—Fr. José Maria de Jesus González."

Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno was born on November 30, 1804, in the City of Mexico. He received the habit of St. Francis at the Apostolic College of San Fernando, Mexico, in 1823, after studying at the College of San Ildefonso. He made his profession in the Order in 1824. The exact day is not

[1] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 523.

known. Having completed his studies for the holy priesthood, he was ordained in 1827, when only 23 years of age. He was immediately sent to California, and arrived at San Diego in September of 1827. Being assigned assistant to Fr. Antonio Peiri at Mission San Luis Rey, Fr. Joaquín remained there from October 1 of that year until about the summer of 1830, when he was transferred to Mission Santa Cruz. His first entry in the Baptismal Register there is dated October 31, and his last bears date of February 17, 1833, when a Zacatecan Franciscan took charge. Thereupon Fr. Jimeno went to Mission Santa Inés, baptizing there for



the first time on May 14, 1833. At this Mission he remained till the month of May, 1850, but baptized for the last time on December 8, 1849. While in charge, Rt. Rev. Bishop García Diego on May 4, 1844, opened the first Diocesan Seminary at the Mission, and appointed Fr. J. J. Jimeno its rector. In 1839, the College of San Fernando de Mexico chose him Presidente of the Fernandinos Franciscans in California, and he held the office until the death, in 1846, of Fr. Durán, when he was elected by that College to succeed the deceased as Comisário Prefecto. At the close of the term of six years, he was re-elected. In 1840, Bishop Garza of Sonora named Fr. J. J. Jimeno vicário foraneo for the southern part of California.

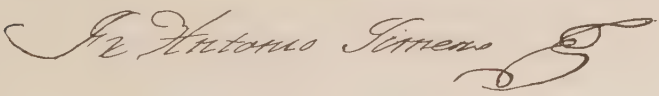
When the seminary at Mission Santa Inés was ceded to the Picpus Fathers, Fr. J. J. Jimeno with Fr. Sánchez withdrew to Santa Barbara, but both were soon transferred

to Mission San Gabriel, Fr. Sánchez attending the parish of Los Angeles. Fr. Jimeno baptized at the Mission from December 8, 1850, till October 11, 1851. Toward the close of 1852, Fr. José Joaquín returned to Santa Barbara, where he planned, and finally succeeded in founding the Missionary College of Our Lady of Sorrows in the City of Santa Barbara, and where he died on March 14, 1856, in the odor of sanctity. The entry in the Burial Register reads as follows: "No. 1,344. On March 15, 1856, ecclesiastical burial was given in the crypt of the Mission to the body of the Very Rev. Fr. Comisário Prefecto of the Missions and local Superior of this College of Our Lady of Sorrows, Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, who, after long and important services to this country for the space of 28 years, and after suffering with unalterable patience a long and painful infirmity, having received the holy Sacraments of Penance, Viaticum, and Extreme Unction, passed away yesterday amid the grief of all the students of this Apostolic College and of the inhabitants of this city. At his burial the Rt. Rev. Bishop of this Diocese, Don Thaddeus Amat, officiated pontifically. In testimony whereof I have signed.—Fr. José Maria de Jesus González."

As Comisário Prefecto Fr. José Jimeno had authority to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation when no Bishop was in the country. We find him exercising his privilege at least once at Mission San Juan Capistrano on August 2 and 15, 1850, when 132 persons were confirmed.

Fr. Antonio Jimeno seems to have come to California with his brother and with Fr. Juan Moreno in September, 1827, although we can find no trace of him in any Mission Register until March 21, 1828, when he baptized for the first time at Mission Santa Cruz. The *Informe Bienal,* March 20, 1828, says he came in January, 1828. He did not remain here long, only till December 10, 1828, when his last entry was made. He was needed at Santa Barbara, where his name appears for the first time in the Baptismal

Register on January 28, 1829. Fr. Antonio exercised the ministry at Mission Santa Barbara continuously till his departure for Mexico in 1858. Meanwhile, however, he attended, from 1841 to 1843, to the spiritual needs of Mission San Buenaventura, and after that to the temporal affairs of that Mission until it was sold by Pio Pico. On the death of Fr. J. J. Jimeno, Fr. Antonio, the last Fernandino, succeeded as Superior of the College community until near the end of 1858. His last entry in the Baptismal Register is dated January 17, 1858. He arrived at the Capital of Mexico on January 23, 1859. On September 27 of that year Fr. Antonio wrote to Fr. González that he had reached the College of San Fernando, which at the time had forty inmates, twelve of whom were priests, notwithstanding the hostility of the government. In June, 1858, an earthquake had done very much damage to the buildings, which were now being repaired. He furthermore informed Fr. González that he had been present at the death of Fr. Francisco Sánchez's mother, who passed away at Leon. He also paid a visit to the College of Zapópan, near Guadalajara, where Fr. González had made his classical studies. It was in a flourishing condition, and had many postulants despite the persecution of the Religious by the rabid Juárez faction. The College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, however, had



ceased to exist. As the friars were expelled, some joined San Fernando de Mexico, while others were at Querétaro.

In another letter, dated November 4, 1859, Fr. Antonio told Fr. González that more than forty Religious, including priests, clerics, lay brothers, and Tertiaries, of the extinct College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, had reached the College of San Fernando, which brought the number there to more than eighty. Among them was Fr. Bernardino Pérez, a former companion of Fr. González. This somewhat tolerable condition

of things was but the calm before the storm. How long it lasted is not clear; but the politicians of the rabid Liberal School could be depended upon not to let unoffensive Religious pray to God in common. They said no prayers themselves, and that was sufficient reason for not permitting any one else to do so, at least in common. The religious of San Fernando were dispersed, and had to see how to make a living in any way possible. On September 25, 1865, Fr. Antonio wrote his last letter to Fr. González. Another, indeed arrived from him, but it was written by another hand on June 25, 1866, for Fr. Antonio was going blind. When in 1874, Fr. Joseph O'Keefe of Santa Barbara arrived at the Capital, he found Fr. Antonio still alive, but the sufferer was relieved of his plight by death on December 25, 1876.

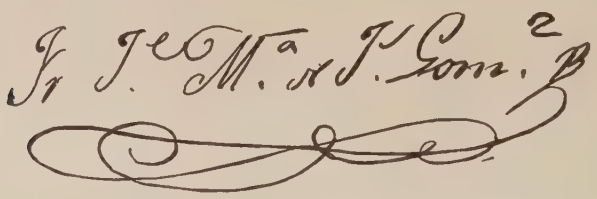
CHAPTER XXXVII.

Biographical Sketches Continued.—Fr. José Maria González Rúbio.—Fr. Francisco Sánchez.—Captain José de la Guerra.—Don Pablo de la Guerra.—Miss Apolinaria Lorenzana.

FR. JOSÉ MARIA GONZÁLEZ RÚBIO, the son of Don José Maria González Rúbio and Doña Manuela Gutiérrez, his wife, both natives of Spain, was born at Guadalajara on June 6, 1804. On June 10 the child was baptized in the cathedral of the city as José Norberto Francisco González Rúbio. He made his preliminary studies at the Franciscan Missionary College of Zapópan, near Guadalajara. On January 9, 1824, José Norberto González received the habit of St. Francis in the church of the same College from the Superior, the Rev. Fr. Francisco Barrón. He was then nineteen years, seven months, and three days of age. On January 10, 1825, he made the solemn vows into the hands of the same Fr. Barrón, who had founded the College of Zapópan. On that occasion the novice took the name José Maria. In 1830, Fr. José Maria joined the Franciscan Missionary College of Guadalupe, near Zacatecas, for the purpose of serving in the Missions of California, some of which were turned over to the said College.

On January 15, 1833, he landed at Monterey in the company of Fathers Francisco García Diego y Moreno, the Commissary, Bernardino Pérez, Rafael Moreno, Lorenzo Quíjas, J. M. Mercado, José Gutiérrez, Antonio Reál, and José Reál. The new governor, José Figueroa, sailed in the same vessel to take charge of the civil and military affairs of California. Fr. Commissary García assigned Fr. González Rúbio to Mission San José. He proceeded to take charge in March. In April Fr. Narciso Durán, formally delivered the Mission to his successor and withdrew to Santa Barbara. While stationed at Mission San José, Fr. González a few times visited San Francisco and Santa Clara, but

otherwise remained at his post. From 1838 to 1843 he held the office of Presidente or Superior of the Zacatecan friars. He served at this Mission till March 6, 1842, which is the date of his last entry in the Baptismal Register, and then went to Santa Barbara in order to serve as secretary to the first Bishop of California. After the death of Bishop García Diego, April 30, 1846, and the demise of Fr. Narciso Durán,



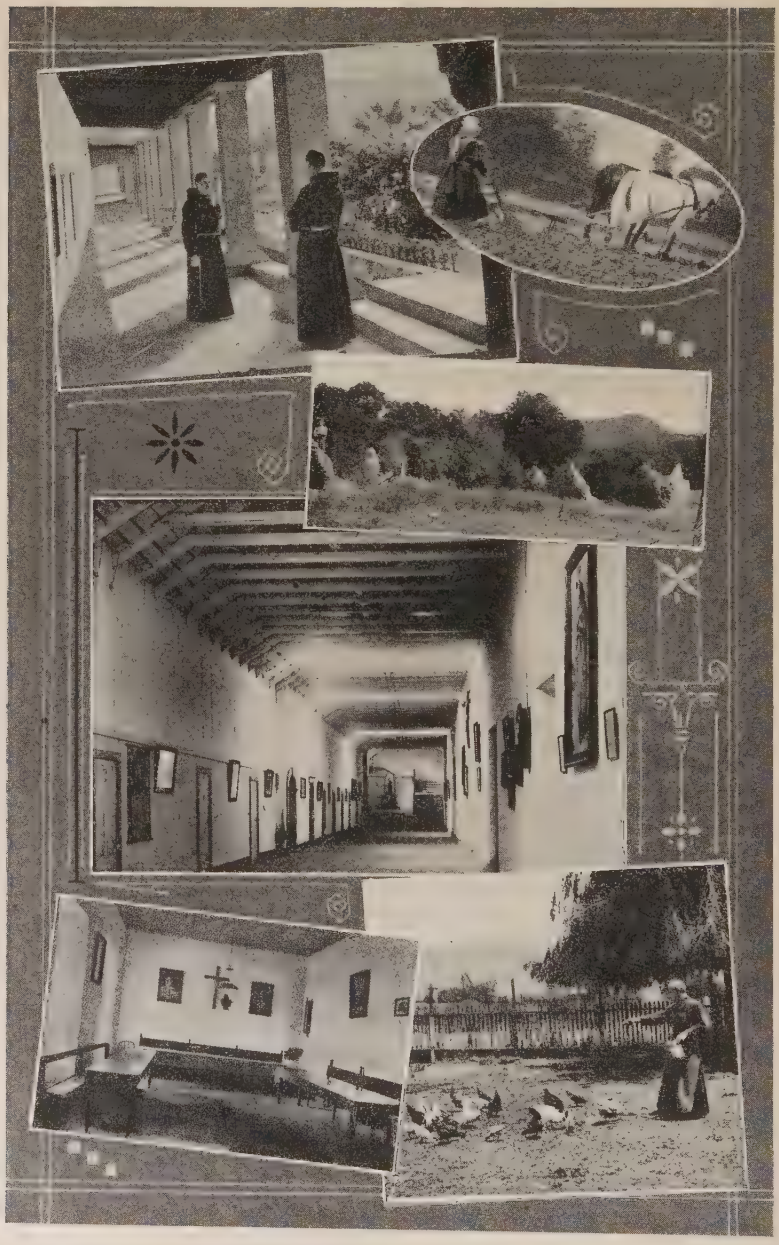
the vicar-general, one month later, Fr. González became Administrator of the orphaned Diocese.

It was during his administration that the Picpus Fathers, the Jesuit Fathers, and various secular priests were called to California. The good Father guided the destinies of the Diecese ably and zealously till the advent of the successor of the late Bishop, Rt. Rev. José Sadoc Alemany, O. P., in December, 1850. The new Bishop appointed Fr. González his vicar-general, and thus the good Father once more governed the Diocese in the absence of Bishop Alemany at the Council of Baltimore in 1852. Meanwhile, he also served as parish priest for the congregation at Santa Barbara, although he continued to live at the Old Mission until the arrival of the new Bishop, Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M., in December, 1855. After the departure of Fr. Antonio Jimeno for Mexico, Fr. González succeeded as Superior of the Missionary College and Community at the Old Mission till the arrival of Fr. José Maria Romo in June, 1872. Finally Fr. José Maria González passed to his eternal reward on All Soul's Day, November 2, 1875, in the room which is now the library and meeting place of the Tertiaries of St. Francis. His body was placed in the crypt beneath the sanctuary, but later transferred to the vaults in the

cemetery. His successor, Fr. Romo, writes of Fr. González in the Community Records of the Mission: "Finally, with the fame of uncommon virtues, especially with that of prudence and exquisite tact in governing, deeply mourned by the whole population of Santa Barbara, and much more by his brethren in the Order, and after a long and painful illness the result of paralysis, and fortified with the spiritual aids, he peacefully surrendered his soul to his Creator at this College."

Even Bancroft was constrained to write of Fr. González: "The last survivor of the California Missionaries, a man respected and beloved by all from the beginning to the end of his career; one of the few Zacatecans who in ability, missionary zeal, and purity of life were equals to the Spanish Fernandinos."

Fr. Francisco Sánchez was born in August, 1813, at Leon in the State of Guanajuato, Mexico. He early chose to study for the priesthood, and received all the Orders to deaconship inclusive at the hands of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Morelia. He then decided to enter the Franciscan Order, and accordingly entered the Missionary College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, as novice in February, 1837. In the following year, in the same month, Sánchez, now named Francisco, made his solemn profession. In the same year, 1838, Fr. Francisco was ordained priest by the Rt. Rev. Don Diego Aranda y Carpinteiro, Bishop of Guadalajara. In 1840, in company of other Fathers, he preached missions at the Pueblo de Los Angeles, Mexico. Desirous of devoting himself to the Missions in California, Fr. Francisco joined the first Bishop of California on his journey to his destination, and landed at San Diego in December, 1841. In February, 1842, Fr. Sánchez came with the Bishop to Santa Barbara, and stayed at the Old Mission, teaching the students and otherwise active till May, 1844, when the Diocesan Seminary was established at Mission Santa Inés. As vicar-rector he remained here till in May, 1850, when he returned to Mission Santa Barbara. He then proceeded to preach



VIEWS OF THE INTERIOR OF THE MISSION.

missions (barring the period of September, 1850, to August, 1852, when he was stationed at San Gabriel) till July, 1854, when he became master of novices at the missionary college founded in connection with the parish church by Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno. He continued in the office when the college was transplanted to the Old Mission. A deeply pious and mortified Religious himself, Fr. Sánchez communicated his own mortified spirit to his novices, who turned out to be excellent friars. Later on Fr. Sánchez traversed the whole territory of California preaching missions to the Indians, Mexicans, and paisanos. His zeal for poor sinners was insatiable. A true apostle, he hunted these lost sheep in the mountains and ranchos, and induced them to make their peace with God. He possessed a special gift for making the men confess their sins wherever he found them. If he met one on the road (he always traveled in his habit, barefoot, and alone), Fr. Sánchez would insist that the poor fellow make his confession right there and then; for he would distrust any promise. Whatever he said to them, those who made their confessions would remain loyal to their God for a long time thereafter, at least. They would fall away again in many cases, it is true, owing to the lack of opportunity or bad fellowship, but they could easily be brought around. Many years after his death, other priests could experience the influence of good Fr. Sánchez's ministrations; for the penitents, on being asked when they had last received the Sacraments, would answer, "When Fr. Sánchez was here."

On his missionary tours, Fr. Sánchez would receive alms in money, which, though not extraordinary, was for a time almost the only means of subsistence for the community at the Old Mission, as Fr. Romo acknowledged. Perhaps it was this state of things that moved Bishop Amat in 1874 to give the Fathers charge of the Orphanage near Watsonville. Fr. Sánchez, with Fr. Codina, and Brother Joseph O'Malley, accordingly took up their abode at the said Boys' Asylum, and Fr. Sánchez remained there till 1879, when he returned

to Santa Barbara to resume his missionary labors among the Mexicans.

Many humorous stories circulate how this saintly man managed to move souls to penance. Once he was arrested and put in jail for something, he did not know why; perhaps he had transgressed some civil ordinance of which he knew nothing. When led to jail, he said: "Yes, yes; that is where I belong." It seems the jail was crowded with Mexicans. Fr. Sánchez accordingly yielded at once to his passion for souls, and conducted a veritable mission among the prisoners, which resulted in getting every one to make his confession. The jailkeeper finally told him to get out, as such as he were not wanted there.

He found many ignorant Mexicans living in concubinage all over the country. Some had been satisfied with a so-called common law marriage, or had gone before a civil judge. As Fr. Sánchez possessed extraordinary faculties from the Bishop, he would revalidate these unholy unions and all, of course, had to go to confession, and thus they began to live a Christian life. Numerous children, who had grown up without Baptism, were admitted to the Family of Christ by being baptized. We find his name in the Baptismal Registers as far south as Mission San Juan Capistrano. In fact, the good Father was an indefatigable missionary, and through it all remained the same pious and mortified, yet gentle and cheerful friar. Fr. Sánchez was highly respected by old and young, and therefore his word effected more than that of any other priest. An amusing story is told of him how he broke up a dance in the night. On his wanderings night had overtaken him somewhere in the neighborhood of an out of the way place. He heard the music, and, of course, guessed its import. As he approached unobserved, the dance was in full swing, the participants all Mexicans. He waited for a lull, and then entered. "Ha! Ha!" he greeted them smiling. "Since you are all together, let us say a Rosary." With that he grasped the Rosary at his side, and knelt down. Likewise all present knelt down, and

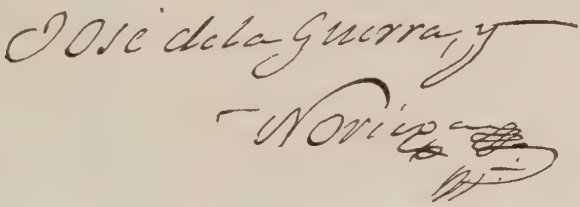
1, FR. ROMO; 2, FR. O'KEEFE; 3, FR. SANCHEZ; 4, FR. FOX; 5, FR. ARBONDIN; 6, BRO. A. GALLAGHER; 7, BRO. JOS. O'MALLEY; 8, BRO. DOMINIC REID. YEAR 1883.

responded. Some of the girls had a Rosary with them, and that came out, too. When the first five decades had been finished, Fr. Sánchez proposed another round. Then silently the young men began to sneak away. When the third round was proposed, there were hardly any men left in the room. Sly Fr. Sánchez, of course, had observed the effect of his ruse, for it was that. At the close of the fifteenth decade, which completed the whole Rosary, he arose and gently told the girls they would want to sleep as they must be tired, and so it would be the best thing for them to go home, which advice they all obeyed.

Such a man was Fr. Sánchez. Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, in her splendid *Ramona* portrayed the good Father under the name Salvadiera exactly, even as to the manner of his death. In 1883, Fr. Sánchez, who, notwithstanding his abstemious life, was somewhat stout, slipped on coming out of the Old Mission church in the *patio,* and struck his leg against the stone of the step. It seems he neglected the wound, which later would not heal. For ten months before his death he could not celebrate holy Mass in consequence. His bed in one of the rooms fronting on the outer corridor was but a hide spread over a frame, as was common with the friars, even with Fr. González. There one day, Fr. Joseph O'Keefe happened to find him in the last throes. He raised him up, and thus Fr. Sánchez breathed his last in the arms of his companion on Thursday after Easter, April 17, 1884. The body was deposited in the crypt beneath the sanctuary, near those of Fr. Alcina and Fr. Mariano Payéras. Later on the remains were transferred to the community vaults of the cemetery, along with those of Fr. González Rúbio.

Captain José de la Guerra y Noriega, born at Novales, Province of Santandér, Spain, on March 6, 1779. His parents were Juan José de la Guerra and Maria Teresa de Noriega, both of distinguished families. In 1788 José went to Mexico and entered the employ of his uncle, Pedro Noriega, who was a merchant at the capital. In 1798 he

joined the army, and in 1801 he arrived in California as ensign of the Monterey company. In 1804 he married Maria Antonia, the daughter of Lieutenant José Raimundo Carrillo, then commander of the presidio of Santa Barbara. In 1806 Ensign de la Guerra was promoted to the lieutenancy. In August, 1810, he sailed for Mexico as habilitado for California, but was imprisoned by the insurgents. When released, Don José hastened back to the coast, where in 1815 he became himself commander of the Santa Barbara garrison, and in 1818 received the rank of captain. In 1819



Captain José de la Guerra went a second time to Mexico in the interest of the military of California, but returned in 1821 without having effected anything, owing to the rebellion prevailing in that country. In 1827 he was elected to the Mexican Congress, but was not allowed to take his seat, because he was a Spaniard.

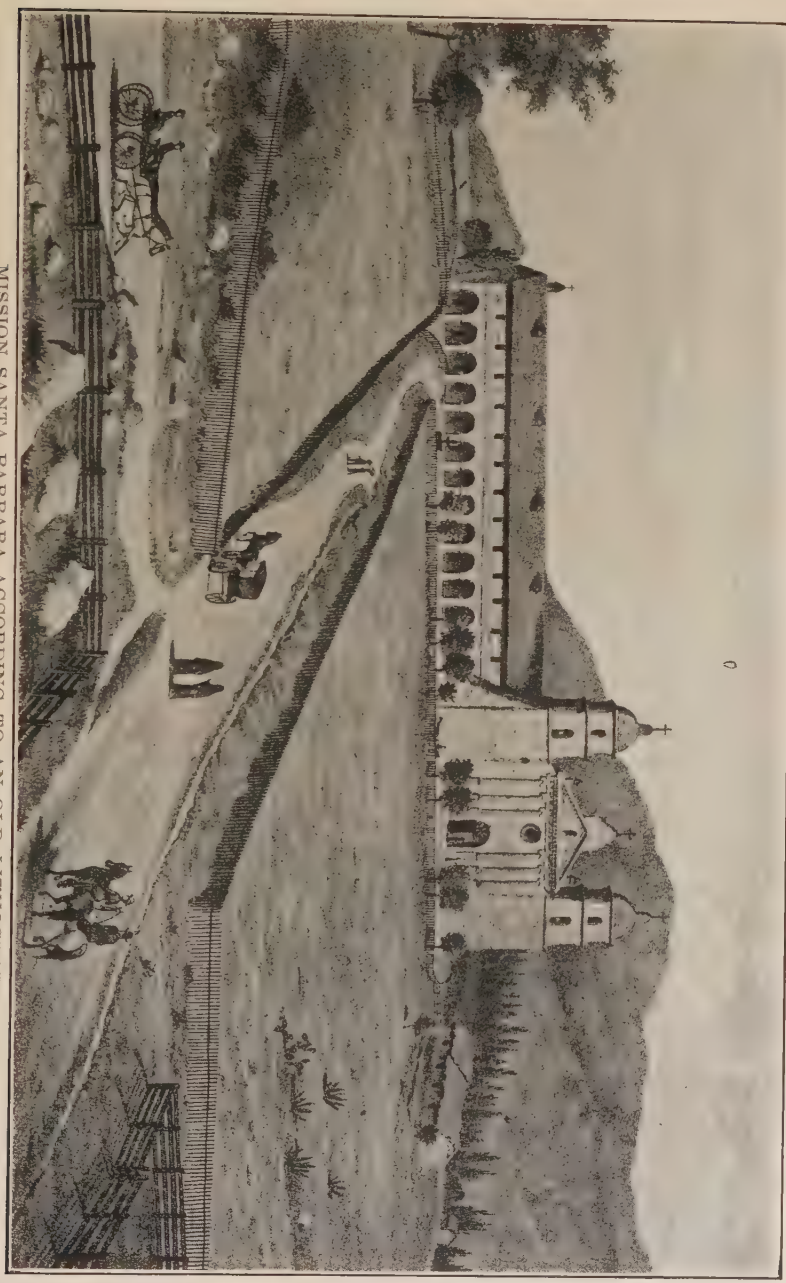
As early as July 6, 1803, the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando, Fr. Josef Gasol, because of the affection manifested toward the California friars, affiliated José de la Guerra y Noriega, then yet single and ensign of the Monterey presidio, to the community, and thus had him share in all its prayers and good works. Seven years later, March 3, 1810, Fr. Guardian Agustin Garijo officially affiliated José de la Guerra y Noriega and his wife Doña Maria Antonia Carrillo to the College Community on account of their kind solicitude for the friars. (*De la Guerra Papers.*)

As an evidence of his deep piety, it may be noted that Don José de la Guerra, as a young man, on November 12, 1804, joined a society having for its special object the veneration of the Blessed Virgin. The members called them-

selves *Esclavos de la Santisima Virgen Maria.* There were no particular obligations. (*De la Guerra Papers.*)

The Captain had been acting provisionally as Síndico or depositary for the Franciscans of California from about 1820. On July 14, 1835, however, the Rev. Fr. José Hidalgo, Guardian of the College of San Fernando, Mexico, officially appointed him Síndico, and therefore (owing to the changed conditions of the friars, who each one had to provide for himself as well as he could), to accept in trust whatever money donations might be contributed for them by benefactors. From such funds he was to provide what the respective friars might need. The appointment affiliated the Captain to the Order, and entitled him to share in all the Holy Sacrifices, spiritual exercises, prayers, fastings, and other works of penance performed by the Franciscans the world over. Furthermore, immediately after his death, the Superior of the community would have as many holy Masses offered up for the soul of the deceased Síndico as there were priests in the said community; and every religious, not a priest, would recite the Office of the Dead. Finally the funeral would be held with all the solemnity practicable, and the body would be buried in the vaults reserved for religious.

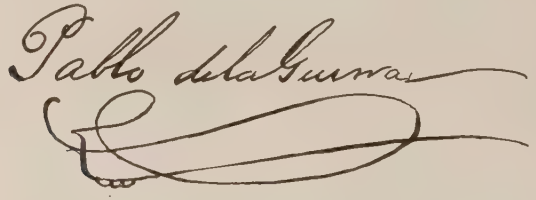
These last honors were accorded to the Captain after he had passed away at about 11 o'clock on Thursday, February 11, 1858. Furthermore, thirty days after, according to the *Santa Barbara Gazette,* vol. iii, no. 43, Thursday, March 18, 1858: "The Month's Mind of Don José de la Guerra y Noriega was solemnized with a pomp and magnificence we never saw equalled on Monday morning (March 15, 1858), in the fine church of the Mission of Santa Barbara. In the body of the church an immense Catafalque was erected, etc. At half past nine o'clock the ceremonies commenced, at which hour the large building was filled with hundreds of our citizens . . ., all desirous to testify by their presence and their prayers their respect for the memory of the good and faithful man, whose long and virtuous life was spent among them. . . . After the Office of the Dead had been



MISSION SANTA BARBARA ACCORDING TO AN OLD LITHOGRAPH.

chanted by the clergy, the solemn High Mass of Requiem was sung by the Rev. Fr. Francisco Sánchez, the male portion of the congregation holding lighted candles. At the conclusion of the service, the Very Rev. Fr. José Maria González ascended the pulpit, and on the text, 'Justus, si morte praeoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit,' 'The just man, if he be overtaken by death, will be at rest' (Wisdom, iv, 7), preached a panegyric on the life of the deceased, which we publish this day. . . . The sermon covers in Spanish the whole five columns of the front page and one column of the last, fourth page. . . . The ceremonies were concluded; and we now repeat with the Rev. Preacher from our 'heart of hearts'—Requiescat in Pace. Amen."

Don Pablo de la Guerra, worthy son of Captain de la Guerra, and like him Síndico or Depositary of the Fernan-



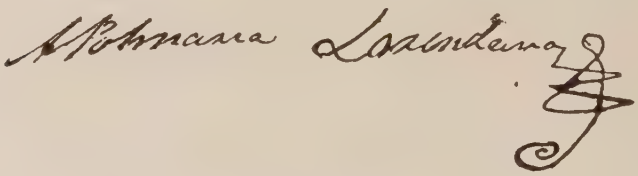
dinos Franciscans, was born at Santa Barbara on November 29, 1819. He was highly esteemed by the whole population, which elected him member of the Constitutional Convention in 1849, and repeatedly sent him to the State Senate from 1850 to 1863. In this last year Don Pablo was elected District Judge, which office he occupied till his death. He died in the evening of February 5, 1874. The funeral was most imposing. The remains were taken in solemn procession to the Old Mission church on Sunday morning, February 8. After a solemn Requiem Mass, celebrated by Fr. Guardian José Romo, assisted by Fathers José Godayol and Francisco Álvarez as Deacons, they were deposited in the crypt beneath the sanctuary.

Miss Apolinaria Lorenzana. It is more than probable that

this noble soul belonged to the Seraphic Family in virtue of her membership in the Third Order of St. Francis; for it cannot be reasonably assumed that the Fathers would have concealed from her the great spiritual benefits enjoyed by the Tertiaries, when they frequently admitted intelligent and pious neophytes to the Third Order; nor can it be supposed that Miss Lorenzana would have neglected to avail herself of the opportunities of thus advancing in spirituality, since she was very much inclined to piety. At all events, Miss Lorenzana deserves to be classed among the Franciscan missionaries of California, because from her youth she devoted herself to the service of the sanctuary and the well-being of the Mission Indians. At Mission San Diego and Mission San Luis Rey she attended to linens and vestments used in the Divine Service, taught the Indian girls to sew and embroider, etc. In the Baptismal Register her name appears quite frequently as sponsor. She had more godchildren than perhaps any individual in California. When the Mission of San Luis Rey was abandoned, Miss Lorenzana took care to have the church goods removed to Mission San Juan Capistrano. At the latter Mission she likewise cared for the sanctuary, and was very scrupulous that nothing be taken away. She had brought along from San Luis Rey with the other goods a small image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and carefully preserved it in her possession. She was very fond of it, and wished to call it her own, but not without the permit of the proper authority. When Fr. Oliva, in January, 1848, had died at Mission San Juan Capistrano, she informed the Very Rev. José Joaquín Jimeno of Santa Barbara, that she would not stay where she was because no priest resided anywhere nearer than Mission San Gabriel, and she did not want to be deprived of the Sacraments. At the same time she asked for permission to keep the little image, which he doubtless granted.

As to her antecedents we know that Miss Apolinaria in 1800 came to California on the *Concepcion* with nineteen foundlings—nine boys under ten years of age and ten girls,

some of whom were marriageable. All foundlings were sent from Mexico to be distributed into respectable homes. Bancroft claims that Miss Apolinaria had related to him that, on her arrival with her young companions, the government distributed the children like pups among various families. Her mother came with her, but soon married an artilleryman, and went to San Blas, so that Apolinaria never saw her again. The girl was placed in the Carrillo family, with which she spent many years at Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. Then she lived at San Luis Rey Mission, and later at San Diego Mission till 1846, engaged in caring for the church goods, tending the sick, and teaching the children. She would also teach the girls and women how to sew, distributed the clothing and rations, and made herself generally useful to the neophyte Indians and the missionaries. While at San Luis Rey she would occasionally go with the sick to the hot springs in the mountains for the baths. In 1833-1834, Miss Lorenzana obtained the necessary certificate from the Mission Father, and then asked for the



grant of the Jamacho Ranch. It was conceded to her in 1840. The United States Land Commission later confirmed the grant, but, says Bancroft, iv, 718, it was taken from her by some legal hocus-pocus which the old women never understood. In 1878 she was still at Santa Barbara—commonly styled *La Beata* for her deep piety—but entirely blind and supported by friends and the county.

Her name Lorenzana she had from the institution which Archbishop Francisco Lorenzana founded on January 11, 1767, for infants abandoned by their parents in the City of Mexico. All the inmates for lack of a name, besides the

baptismal or Christian name, were named for the noble benefactor of the foundling asylum — Lorenzana. More details will be found in the volumes of the Missions where she so faithfully aided the efforts of the missionaries.

Miss Apolinaria at length passed to her eternal reward in April, 1884. The entry in the Burial Register of the Parish of Our Lady of Sorrows, Santa Barbara, reads as follows: "On April 12th, 1884, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of Apolinaria Lorenzana, single, about one hundred years of age, a native of Mexico whose parents are not known. She died after having received all the spiritual aids.—Rev. Jaime Vila, Pastor."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

List of Resident and Visiting Missionaries and Other Priests at the Mission and Presidio.—Bishop Amat Officiates at a Baptism.—Lays the Cornerstone for Church at Montecito.—Arrival of the Sisters of Charity.—The Sisters of Notre Dame.—The Franciscan Sisters.

In the case of resident missionaries the dates indicate the occasion on which the respective priest officiated for the first and for the last time. He might have arrived much earlier and departed later, however.

FR. JUNIPERO SERRA, April 20-May 9, 1782, and November 22-25, 1783, at the presidio.

Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, October 30-December 15, 1786.

Fr. Antonio Paterna, October 30, 1786-February 13, 1793.

Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, October 30, 1786-August 20, 1891.

Fr. Faustino de Solá, February 26, 1787.

Fr. José de Arróita, March 26, 1787.

Fr. Fermín de Lasuén, June 20, 1787.

Fr. Francisco Dumetz, July 21, 1787; February, June, December, 1788.

Fr. Fermín de Lasuén, December 20, 1787-February 9, 1788; January 1-July 4, 1790; June 14, 1791.

Fr. José Antonio Calzada, September 20, 1788-January 12, 1789.

Fr. José de Miguel, September 6, 1790-September 13, 1798.

Fr. Estévan Tápis, May 2, 1791.

Rev. Dr. Alexandro Jordan, August 17, 21, 1791.

Fr. José de Arróita, October, 1791; November, December, 1792; April, 1793; November, 1794; January, 1795.

Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, April 19, September 12, 1792.

Fr. Francisco Dumetz, March 31, April 30, 1792.

Fr. Miguel Giribet, May 8, 1792.

Fr. José A. Calzada, November 3, 1792.

Fr. Estévan Tápis, April 10, 1793-November 24, 1804.
Fr. Fermín de Lasuén, November 1, 1793.
Fr. Bartolomé Gilí, December 5, 1793.
Fr. Miguel Pieras, July and August, 1794.
Fr. Juan Martin, October 6, 1794; January 7, Juné 15, 1797.
Fr. Antonio Dantí, September 5, 1796.
Fr. Gregório Fernández, May 12, 1796; May 24-28, 1800.
Fr. Francisco X. Uría, June, August, September, 1797; September, 1798.

FRANCISCAN COAT OF ARMS

Fr. Antonio Peiri, June 30, 1797.
Fr. Juan Mariner, July 1, 1797.
Fr. Fermín de Lasuén, August 21, 1797.
Fr. Pedro de San Josef Estévan, October 24, 1797.
Fr. Benito Catalán, May 6, 1798.
Fr. José Señan, June 2, December 10, 1798.
Fr. J. A. Calzada, June, August, September, 1798; July, 1803; March, April, 1806.

Fr. Juan Cortés, October 8, 1798-September 18, 1805.
Fr. José de Miguel, May, 1803.
Fr. José Señan, July, August, October, December, 1803; March, 1804; October, 1805.
Fr. Juan Martin, November 24, 1804.

Fr. Marcos Amestoy, November 26, 1804-July 14, 1813.
Fr. Luis Ant. Martínez, October 8, 1805; July, 1806; June, 1807.

Fr. Marcos Antonio de Vitoria, October 24, 1805-June 30, 1807.
Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea, November 14, December 5, 30, 1805; January 2, 1806.

Fr. José Antonio Urresti, December 22, 1806-September 20, 1808.
Fr. José Sánchez, February 14-26, 1807.
Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, March, 1807; March, 1808.
Fr. Pedro Muñoz, March, April, 1808.
Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada, May, November, December, 1807.
Fr. Domingo Carranza, September, October, 1808.

Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada, November 13, 1808-April 26, 1815.
Fr. José Señan, November, December, 1808.
Fr. Luis Martínez, November 12, 1812.

Fr. Ramón Olbés, September 8, 1813-April 26, 1816.
Fr. Antonio Ripoll, April 17, 1814.
Fr. Ramón Ulibarri, May, 1816.

Fr. Antonio Ripoll, June 14, 1815-January 23, 1828.

Fr. Francisco Suñer, October 27, 1816-December 19, 1823.

Fr. Antonio Jayme, December 8, 1821-November 30, 1829.
Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarría, June 25, 1824.
Fr. Marcos de Vitoria, August 28, 1824.
Fr. Blas Ordáz, August 14, 1824.
Fr. Francisco Suñer, December 31, 1824.

Fr. Juan Moreno, January 26, 1828-February 2, 1829.

Fr. Antonio Jimeno, February 28, 1829-January 17, 1858.
Fr. Francisco Ibárra, February 12, 1828.

Fr. Antonio Menéndez, O. P., June 23-August 19, 1831.
Fr. Francisco Cuculla (Zacatecan), June 4, 6, 1831.
Fr. Mariano Sosa (Zacatecan), July 16, 18, 1831.

Fr. Narciso Durán, December 22, 1833-June 1, 1846.

Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego y Moreno, January 11, 1842-April 30, 1846.

Fr. Francisco Sánchez, January 11, 1842-May, 1844; May, 1850-September, 1850; August, 1852-1874; 1879-April 17, 1884.

Fr. José Maria González Rúbio, March, 1842-November 2, 1875.

Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, May, 1850-September, 1850; August, 1852-March 14, 1856.

Later Franciscans will be found in the next chapters. The successors in the parish of Our Lady of Sorrows in the City of Santa Barbara were:

Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M., April, 1856, to 1861. His Lordship, however, baptized but rarely. He officiated at a Baptism for the first time on March 10, 1857. The subject was a child of D. J. Valenzuelo, and the Bishop himself made the entry under No. 926.

One of the most notable functions performed by His Lordship, while residing at Santa Barbara, was the founding of a church at Montecito. The record, after entry No. 922, March 2, 1857, in the Baptismal Register, as translated from the Latin, reads as follows:

"On the first day of March, in the year 1857 of the Incarnation of the Lord, the Church being ruled by Pius IX, the President of the United States of America being Franklin Pierce, the Governor of this State of California being Neely Johnson, the illustrious and Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M., Bishop of Monterey, blessed and laid the cornerstone of the church to be built at Montecito under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Carmel, with the assistance of the Reverends Cayetano Sorrentini, Master of Ceremonies, Dominic Serrano, parish priest of the church at San Buenaventura, and the students of the seminary, and in the presence of a multitude of people."

Bishop Amat also succeeded in persuading the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, Maryland, to establish an educational institution at Santa Barbara. The first Sisters arrived

on January 3, 1857, and have conducted St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum here ever since.

Rev. Blas Raho, C. M., April 5-September 23, 1856.

Rev. Francisco Domingo Serrano y Franco, April 20, 1856-August 26, 1857.

Rev. Ciprian Rubio, May, 1857; September 12-November 2, 1858.

Rev. Cayetano Sorentini, October 12, 1856-August 22, 1857.

Rev. Jaime Vila, September 12, 1857-October 21, 1895.

Rev. Domingo Serrano, March 12-19, 1858.

Rev. Miguel Racca, March 13, 1858.

Rev. D. F. Dade, March 20-October 12, 1860.

Franciscan Fathers frequently assisted the pastor till 1872.

Rev. Joaquín Bot, 1863-1872 (Catholic Directory).

Rev. Juan Basso, in 1867 (Catholic Directory).

Rev. Joaquín Adam, in 1868 (Catholic Directory).

Rev. Juan Pujol, July 20, 1872-November 25, 1877.

Rev. Michael Lynch, 1875-1876 (Catholic Directory).

Rev. Fr. José Godayol, O. F. M., December 9, 1877-May 3, 1881; July 4, 1882-May 7, 1883.

Rev. Fr. Bonaventure Fox, O. F. M., May 23-October 20, 1779; May 18, 1881-June 30, 1882.

Rev. Patrick Hawe, 1883-1884 (Catholic Directory).

Rev. Patrick Lennon, September 30, 1883-June 13, 1886.

Rev. Francis Grau, in 1886 (Catholic Directory).

Rev. Leo G. Garse, April, 1888; May 24-August 17, 1908.

Rev. P. Cesari, July 1, 1888-April 8, 1889.

Rev. Fr. Bonaventure Fox, O. F. M., April 21-August 18, 1889.

Rev. Juan Caballeria, August 24, 1889-July 9, 1893.

Rev. Ramón Maria Ferrer, July 23, 1893-June 14, 1896.

Rev. Fr. B. Fox, O. F. M., March 21-June 26, 1895.

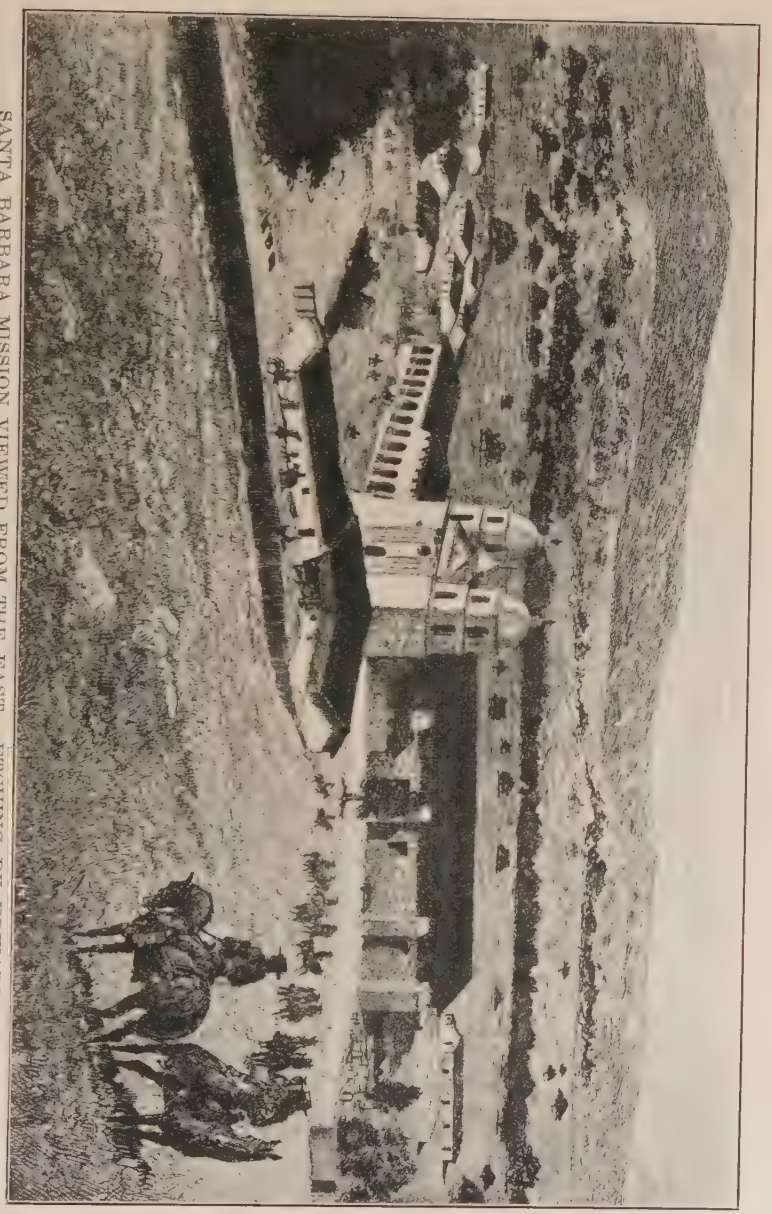
Rev. Polydor J. Stockman, June 21, 1896-August, 1908.

Rev. Joseph Nunan, January 17, 1898-April 7, 1901.

Rev. Charles De Ceunick, July 11-October 15, 1901.

Rev. Joseph O'Reilly, October 20, 1901-July 20, 1902.

Rev. P. G. Gay, February 19-September 6, 1903.



SANTA BARBARA MISSION VIEWED FROM THE EAST. ETCHING BY EDWARD BOREIN.

Rev. Alexander Buckler, September 20, 1903-January 18, 1904.
Rev. A. J. Eling, February 22, 1904-July 30, 1905.
Rev. Philip G. Scher, August 13, 1905-November 11, 1906.
Rev. B. J. Schiaparelli, January 5, 1907-January 5, 1908.

In August, 1908, the Jesuit Fathers were given charge of the Parish of Our Lady of Sorrows, Santa Barbara, Rev. Robert E. Kenna, S. J., the first Superior, entering the first Baptism on August 25, 1908.

We have still to note in this connection, and to put on record, that on August 2, 1906, at the invitation of the pastor, the Rev. Polydor Stockman, seven Sisters of Notre Dame arrived at Santa Barbara to take charge of the parish school of Our Lady of Sorrows.

Two years later, August 20, 1908, eight Sisters of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis established St. Francis Hospital at Santa Barbara, the Queen City of the Pacific Coast.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Modern History of the Mission. — Novices Received. — First Lay-Brothers.—The Master of Novices.—Inner Life of the Community.—The Second Floor.—College Opened.—Fr. José Maria Romo, First Guardian.—His First Acts.—Improvements.

THE history of the Mission of Santa Barbara, as a center of missionary activities, terminated about 1856; but the hallowed spot was not abandoned by the Franciscans, nor were the buildings permitted to fall into ruins as was the case with several sister establishments. With the opening of the Novitiate of Our Lady of Sorrows, a new history began for the community which thereafter occupied the venerable structures. As it would require a separate volume to relate the vicissitudes of the friars from the organization of the monastery in 1856 to the present day, we shall leave that task to a future historian, and on the pages following here we shall present only a sketch.

The first three novices received into the Order, as was related in Chapter XXXII, were young Spaniards from Catalonia. They were also the last of that race; for after them only Irishmen petitioned for the habit of St. Francis. The first one, Timothy Sheehan, was admitted on March 5, 1856, while the community still lived at the church in the City of Santa Barbara. He made his vows, however, in the sanctuary of the Mission church on March 12, 1857, into the hands of Fr. Antonio Jimeno, who had succeeded his brother, Fr. José Joaquín, as the second Superior of the new community. The first novice, who received the religious habit in the Old Mission church at ten in the morning of April 16, 1857, was Thomas Fox. He was a native of Kilconnel, Ireland. In the following year, April 17, young Fox, then just twenty-one years of age, made his vows into the hands of Fr. Antonio Jimeno, and on this occasion, according to Spanish custom, took the name of Bonaventure.

Both he and Sheehan had their testimonials from the Archbishop of Dublin, the later Cardinal Cullen.

Fr. Antonio Jimeno now disappears from the list of members, because, as we have already stated, he retired to Mexico late in 1858. Fr. José Maria González Rúbio succeeded to the office of Superior or *Presidente-in-Capite,* as the Spanish term has it.

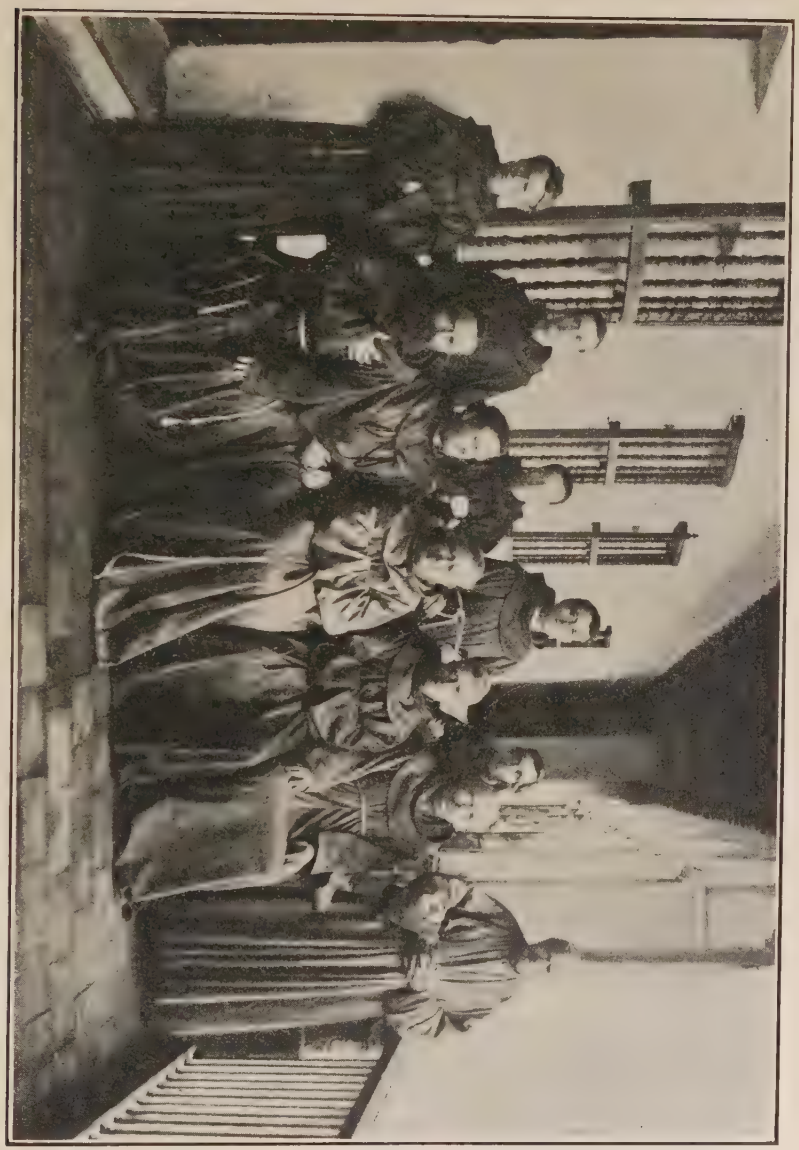
The next novice to receive the habit of St. Francis was a Californian, a youth who had passed his early years at San Francisco, but who was a native of Malo, County Cork, Ireland. He was seventeen years of age, and known as Jeremiah Joseph O'Keefe, by which name he went throughout his life, which would go to show that he took no other name at his profession. Jeremiah was, on August 4, 1860, invested by Fr. González, who also taught him theology. He made his simple vows on August 5, 1861, and the solemn or final vows on August 8, 1864.

On July 21, 1863, Brother Pacificus Wade, a Tertiary Regular of the teaching community of Franciscan Brothers, Brooklyn, New York, by permit received the habit of the First Order at the hands of Fr. González. Wade in the course of time made the vows, and like Fr. O'Keefe, was ordained priest.

The first lay-brother who received the habit of the First Order on the coast and stayed, was Brother Anthony Gallagher. He was fifty-one years of age at the time, May 14, 1867, and a native of Kermanagh, Ireland. He led an exemplary life thereafter, notwithstanding that he entered so late.

The second lay-brother was Patrick O'Malley, thirty-six years old, and a native of Ireland. He was invested with the habit of the First Order on February 2, 1869. Like Brother Gallagher, he continued fervent in the community to a good old age, and died an example for the others.

During all these years the able and pious Fr. Francisco Sánchez exercised the most important office of Master of Novices. Though he never learned to speak English fluently,



THE FRANCISCAN COMMUNITY AT SANTA BARBARA IN 1878

it is remarkable that the Irishmen received, who had to learn Spanish, persevered in the Old Mission, where the fare often proved poor enough. Fr. Sánchez must have been an ideal master, indeed, or the novices would have left the apparently cheerless old pile, where fleas abounded and facilities were scant. With Fr. González, too, the novices, though of an altogether different race, must have felt at home, otherwise it is not clear, humanly speaking, how they continued. It was doubtless due, under God, to the lofty views with which they entered the religious life, and to the piety and the sympathetic nature of the two Fathers, González Rúbio and Francisco Sánchez. The latter could be found out of bed almost any part of the night, but then always in the church before the Blessed Sacrament.

During 1869-1870, a former novice of Fr. Sánchez, Fr. Francisco Codina, acted as master of novices, probably because Fr. Sánchez had gone on a missionary tour.

Fr. Codina, if possible, surpassed even his saintly master in personal austerities. He would pass the entire night in church until the Superior, Fr. Romo, forbade it. Then Fr. Codina would simply pass the night sleeping on the staircase.

The inner life of the community at the Old Mission could be said to vie with the life led in the strictest monasteries in Spain. The novices, choristers, as well as lay-brothers, wore the tonsure, that is to say, the top of the head was shaved. All wore sandals, but no stockings. Every evening the novices received instructions on the spiritual life. Silence was strictly observed, except at the time of recreation. All took a walk together on Sunday and Thursday afternoons. Other customary exercises were also observed.

The daily routine was as follows: The community would arise at 4:30 in the morning. The Meditation would last an hour, followed by Prime, Martyrology, Tierce, holy Mass and breakfast. After that all would proceed to their respective occupations. At 10 a. m. Sixt and None were, like all the parts of the Divine Office, chanted in the choir loft. What is now the choir and oratory was the vestry.

The room back of it contained articles and church furniture for feast days. Dinner began at 11:30, after which came the recreation and siesta until 2 p. m. The novices recited the Rosary. Work was resumed and continued to 5 p. m., when Compline was chanted in the choir, and followed by Meditation. Immediately after, Matins and Lauds were chanted in the choir. Supper was taken at 7:15, and followed by devotions in the church. Novices had their special exercises. On Friday evenings the Way of the Cross was held, followed as now by Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament. On Sundays and on holy days of obligation there would be a High Mass, and a sermon in Spanish. Later on, an English sermon would occasionally be preached. The church was usually crowded with Mexicans who came from everywhere. Many more of them than now lived in the cañons and along the foothills. Many would also come from the city, although no street cars or paved roads facilitated the trip to the church. The Old Mission church had an attraction for them which would not let them mind the inconveniences. Besides, the services were carried out liturgically, and then there was the good old Fr. Sánchez's sermon in Spanish. He was ready for a sermon at any time. It would be long, and there was not much system about it, but he spoke from the heart, as he could sympathize with the poor Mexicans. Fr. O'Keefe or Fr. Codina would play the organ, and assisted by one or the other capable Religious, they would also sing the respective parts of the Mass. Later on, boys trained for the purpose while studying commercial branches or the humanities would form the choir in the organ loft, where the Fathers and novices chanted the Divine Office. Access to the loft was through the spacious corridor on the second floor.

This brings us to an important change in the front wing of the Old Mission. Like all Mission structures, the Santa Barbara buildings had but one story and a garret. Here, however, the loft was somewhat higher than at any other Mission establishment. Furthermore, the wall above the first

floor to the eaves consisted of open brick-work, for the purpose of allowing ventilation all around, as the loft was utilized to dry corn and other products.

In order to secure better accommodations, now that the novitiate was at the Old Mission, Fr. Antonio Jimeno, in 1858, raised the roof of the main building, for a distance of about one hundred feet from the tower, to its present height, and turned this second floor into living rooms for the ecclesiastics and laybrothers. It was the good Father's last important work in California, for he retired to the College of San Fernando, Mexico, before the close of the year.

By the year 1867, the community, consisting of Fathers González, Sánchez, Godayol, Codina, Sheehan, Fox. O'Keefe, and Wade, and Brother Anthony Gallagher, decided to open a college for boys. For such a purpose the facilities were inadequate. It was therefore resolved to extend the second floor to the end of the front wing. The contract was accordingly drawn up and read as follows: "The present portion of the Mission Building, which joins the church and runs S. W., and has been shingled and floored over one hundred feet, must be continued and finished in the same manner as the aforesaid portion finished, including doors, windows, rafters, joists, where required, and flooring of Oregon pine; the roof to be properly supported by beams and uprights on one side, on the end to be gabled with three windows put in, 10 by 14, also the wall facing the yard to be weatherboarded and finished around the windows, each window to have shutters on the inside, the whole to be completed the same as the present portion already finished as far as the end which is about one hundred and eight feet. All material must be furnished by the contractor for the sum of three thousand and one hundred dollars ($3,100.00). Also a door on the back part of the building facing the courtyard.—Joseph J. O'Keefe, O. S. F., Witness.—P. J. Tierney, Contractor.—José M. Ganzález."

The change supplied ample quarters to professors and students. The rooms of the former lay over the corridor

SANTA BARBARA MISSION IN 1868 AFTER THE SECOND FLOOR WAS COMPLETED.

in the front with the grand view over the city and the channel. Over the rear row of rooms were the rooms of the lay-brothers. The former loft, between the thick adobe walls, measuring sixteen feet in width, eighteen feet in height, and over two hundred feet in length, served as the dormitory for the boys. The single beds were curtained off, so that the desired privacy was secured.

"The Institution, conducted by the Fathers of the Order of St. Francis," says the earliest catalogue extant, that of June, 1873, "opened for the reception of students on March 2nd, 1868." The branches usual in such colleges at this date were taught. There was also a Primary department in which, besides the Christian Doctrine, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and Geography were instilled. As many as ninety-seven students were on the list during the year 1872-1873. The Catalogue for the year 1875-1876 contained only forty-six names. It was probably the last one printed.

Although down to September, 1868, the novitiate had produced seven priests for the Order, three Spaniards and four Irishmen, the hopes which Fr. González had placed on the college for boys established in 1868 were not realized. Moreover, his health began to fail. He accordingly asked the Superior-General of the Order to relieve him of the office of Superior. His petition was granted in 1871. The Very Rev. J. M. Romo, a Mexican Franciscan, "who six years before had been commissioned by the ill-fated Maximilian to establish a Franciscan hospice for Mexicans in the Holy Land, which was never effected owing to the Emperor's death," as Fr. O'Keefe writes in his little Handbook of the Mission, "was sent by the General to relieve Fr. González."

From the Diary of Fr. Romo, still extant in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, we see that he bought a ticket for California at Paris on December 11, 1871. It cost 1,118 francs (about $225). He left Paris next day for Dieppe. Thence he went to New Havre, London, Liverpool, was opposite Londonderry, Ireland, on the 15th, and reached Portland, Maine, on Saturday, December 30, 1871. He be-

came ill here, but a Protestant doctor brought him around and would charge nothing. Thence the route went by Montreal, Toronto, Detroit, Chicago, and Sacramento, where he took the steamer for San Francisco, which was reached on January 14, 1872. Fr. Romo, now penniless, fortunately found charitable friends in the Rev. Martin Garriga and others, who secured passage for him on the boat leaving for Santa Barbara on January 20. On Sunday evening, January 21, at 6 o'clock, the landing was made, and at 8 p. m., he arrived at the Old Mission just as the community were taking supper in the refectory. "It is impossible to describe the scene that ensued," Fr. Romo writes, "when the community, which had for some time been expecting me, recognized me, especially Fathers Sánchez and Álvarez, who already knew me." Fr. Romo then gives the names of all the friars that belonged to the Old Mission. There were eight Fathers, one secular priest, as guest, two professed clerics, two professed lay-brothers, two lay-brother novices, and two Tertiary brothers.

On February 2, there was a solemn High Mass, Fr. González, assisted by deacons, officiating. The candles were blessed and a procession followed, the entire service lasting from 8 to 10 a. m., as Fr. Romo notes. On all Friday evenings would be Rosary, Litany of the Holy Name of Jesus in Spanish, and Benediction. The new Superior could not be installed at once, because the required documents had not arrived. At last the *Literae Patentales*, dated Rome, May 3, 1872, and addressed to Fr. González, came on June 1. Fr. González had the document appointing Fr. J. M. Romo Guardian of the Community at the Old Mission of Santa Barbara, read in the refectory on June 2. In virtue of this appointment Fr. Romo became the first Superior of the place under the designation Guardian, the title applied by Franciscans to local Superiors of a regularly organized community of the first class. Heretofore, the Superiors had been called *presidentes* or *praesides*, which is equivalent to Superior in small communities. Fr. Romo, on June 4, con-

voked the first discretory or local council. On that occasion Fr. Codina was made Vicar, an office not before known in California, but which is equivalent to Assistant Superior in large communities where the Superior is called Guardian. Fr. Sánchez became Master of Novices. Fr. González held the second place as a matter of honor, and bore the title of Chronologist. It is probably due to this fact that the archives were preserved in an orderly manner. Fr. O'Keefe was named president or rector of the college in the house. In 1875 he occupied the office of vicar and assistant rector, Fathers Codina and Sánchez having gone to take charge of the Diocesan Boys' Orphanage near Watsonville.

One of the first acts of the new Superior was to have water pipes laid to the kitchen. Till then the water had to be brought by the brothers from the Mission Creek in buckets carried, Chinese fashion, dangling from a yoke on the shoulders. The fountain in the court was also built by Fr. Romo. Furthermore, he put up the water tank in the rear of the church. The stairway to the tower had been walled up. Fr. Romo had it opened and cleared for visitors who wanted to ascend and enjoy the fine view over the city and channel. A less judicious act was the removal of the pulpit on the left of the nave. He also had the winding stairs put up from the rear of the church to the organ loft. It was then that female voices were, for the first time, heard in the organ loft singing during Divine Service on Sundays and holy days. The Indian neophytes had attended to this duty during the Mission Period. On special occasions a Mexican band of musicians offered their services, and so added noise if not devotion to the exercises. Since the erection of the College of St. Anthony, the musical portion of the services is supplied by the students in keeping with the laws of the Church and the fitness of things ecclesiastical.

CHAPTER XL.

Fr. Romo Goes to Mexico.—Returns.—Community Doomed to Extinction.—How Prevented.—Changes.—Fr. Ferdinand Bergmeyer.—Fr. Kilian Schloesser.—Improvements.—Fr. Ferdinand Murdered.—Fr. Michael's Proposition. — A Commissariat. — College Opened. — First Professors and Pupils.—Second Floor to Rear Wing.—New College Erected.—Province of Santa Barbara.—First Provincial.—The Chapter in July, 1922.—Status of the Province.

WITH the permission of the Superior-General, Fr. Romo in May, 1879, set out for Mexico in the hope of securing Franciscan priests, or novices at least, as no records were forthcoming from California. After three years, in 1882, "he returned undeceived and somewhat discouraged," as Fr. O'Keefe writes. Fr. O'Keefe himself had, in 1873-1875, visited Mexico for the same purpose, but failed. Fr. Romo fared no better, though he was a Mexican. Under these circumstances, writes Fr. O'Keefe, having consulted with his vicar, he reported to the Most Rev. Superior-General all he had endeavored to accomplish, and showed the difficulties under which this house labored. He gave it as his opinion that it could make no progress, isolated as it was, and independent of every other convent and province in the Order. Fr. Romo, therefore, prayed that the venerable Old Mission and its community be attached to some province in the East, in order to insure its continuance and increase in members. The Father General, however, deemed it advisable to order an official visitation before taking any decided step in the matter. He accordingly directed the Rev. Fr. Ferdinand Bergmeyer, O. F. M., Superior of the Franciscan convent at Indianapolis, Indiana, belonging to the Province of the Sacred Heart, to proceed to California, and to report on the conditions at Santa Barbara. He arrived in August, 1884, and made the visitation as prescribed. On receiving the report, and having consulted with the Provincial and

Councillors of the Province, the Superior-General laid the matter before the Pope for approbation. The result was the

FR. FERDINAND BERGMEYER, O. F. M., VISITOR GENERAL.

following Decree: "As the Most Rev. Minister General of the Regular Observance of the Order of St. Francis has earnestly petitioned that the College of Our Lady of Seven

Dolors of Santa Barbara, in the Diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles, both for the greater increase of the same College and for the extension of the Order of St. Francis in California, be changed (from its independent state) and annexed to the Province of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the United States of North America. His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, in an audience on the 19th of April, 1885, having heard the report of Archbishop Jacobini, Secretary of the Propaganda, kindly consented that the aforesaid College should be incorporated with the Province of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus.

"Given at Rome from the Chambers of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, May 5th, 1885.—Joannes Card. Simeoni, Prefect.—D. Archbishop Tyrenensis, Secretary."

At the next Provincial Chapter held at St. Louis, Missouri, on July 15, 1885, Fr. Ferdinand Bergmeyer himself was elected Guardian of the Old Mission, which since then has become the Motherhouse of the Order on the Coast. Fr. Romo, after the surrender of the office, returned to Mexico. Fr. González had died in 1875, and Fr. Sánchez likewise passed away on April 17, 1884, shortly before the change. Those incorporated into the new Province were Fr. José Godayol, Fr. Bonaventure Fox, and Fr. José O'Keefe, and with them the Brothers Anthony Gallagher, Joseph O'Malley, Peter Haberlin, and Dominic Reid. The first priest sent out from the east to aid Fr. Ferdinand was Fr. Victor Aertker, O. F. M. The first lay-brothers from the eastern Province arrived here on September 28, 1885, in company of Fr. Victor. They were Brothers Placidus Dehm, Beatus Struewer, and Hugolinus Bokhorst.

Fr. Ferdinand on July 25, 1888, was elected Provincial, which made it necessary for him to reside at St. Louis, Missouri. Fr. Kilian Schloesser succeeded as Guardian of the Old Mission community. There were ample opportunities for improvement in the old buildings, and Fr. Kilian was the man to effect some of them. He determined to put

tiles on the roof of the front wing, which was only shingled. When the people of the city heard of it, they contributed $3,000. It made the roof resemble old times. Ever since then the inhabitants have given evidence that they realized that it was the Old Mission which made Santa Barbara. Even now, thousands of tourists annually stop at the depot to visit the Mission. They would pass north or south without stopping but for the ancient Mission that harbored Franciscans from the time of Fr. Lasuén without interruption. The Brother Porter may still pass throughout the city on his errands without being compelled to conceal his identity or his habit in secular garb. Of all the cities of its size in the United States this can be said of Santa Barbara and Phoenix, Arizona, alone. Likewise all the friars of the Mission and College walk the streets on duty's call, as did the friars of old when Indian neophytes formed the great majority.

Fr. Kilian, in July, 1891, was succeeded in the office of Guardian by Fr. Hugh Fessler. During his term, and by order of Fr. Provincial Michael Richardt, the burial vaults for the Religious were built in the northern end of the cemetery. The remains of Fathers González and Sánchez were the first to be transferred thither from the crypt under the sanctuary where they had as yet not been entombed. About the same time the vestry was transformed into a choir in which the Religious have chanted the Divine Office ever since. The change necessitated an alteration of the doorway. As the engraving shows, the doorway opened toward the court. This was walled up and made a window. The stone stairway was removed around the corner, so that admission to the choir is now from the corridor along the church wall.

Fr. Hugh Fessler, in August, 1894, was called to the east, and Fr. Ferdinand Bergmeyer again became Guardian. On February 27, 1896, the good Father, then seventy years of age, was murdered by a penniless man to whom Fr. Ferdinand had out of charity given temporary shelter at the

BURIAL VAULTS IN THE CEMETERY. FR. GONZALEZ'S REMAINS REST IN THE LOWER LEFT CORNER. THE INSCRIPTION NOT VISIBLE. ALL COMPARTMENTS ARE NOW FILLED UP. ANOTHER VAULT HAS BEEN BUILT.

Old Mission. The Fr. Guardian had finished breakfast, and was ascending the stairs to retire to his room. Just as he had reached the landing on the second floor, the unhappy guest, in a fit of insanity, rushed after his benefactor, and fired four bullets into his body. The horrified community hastened to the assistance of the venerable Superior, and placed him in bed; but he passed away at about seven o'clock in the evening of the same day, after having received the last Sacraments, and conscious to the last. When informed that the end was nigh, he murmured, *"Bonum Certamen Certavi, Cursum Consumavi."*—"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course." (II Tim. iv, 7.) The remains were laid to rest in the vaults built by his predecessor. Fr. Servatius Altmicks, the vicar of the house, acted as Superior until the arrival of Fr. Bernardin Weis, who had been elected Guardian at the Intermediate Chapter held in St. Louis, Missouri, about the middle of August, 1896.

At this same Chapter, the Fr. Provincial, Fr. Michael Richardt, himself urging the matter, it was decided to open a college in the Old Mission for aspirants to the Order. Fr. Peter Wallischeck, as prefect of studies, was sent to inaugurate the undertaking in conjunction with Fr. Bernardin. The first scholastic sessions were commenced under exceedingly primitive conditions on Tuesday, September 22, 1896. St. Anthony was named Patron of the new institution. Twelve boys appeared in the class-room with the avowed purpose of devoting themselves to the preparatory studies of the priesthood, but only two of these reached the goal—Leon Gallardo and Joseph Linneweber, who are known in the Order as Fr. Dominic and Fr. Anthony, respectively. One other entered the Order of St. Francis, but died a few years after his reception. The professors were Fr. Peter, Fr. Mathias Rechsteiner, and Fr. Felix Raab.

With the approval of Fr. Provincial Michael Richardt and his Council, Fr. Peter began building a second floor to the wing running back of the Old Mission structure. Brother Adrian Wewer superintended this work, at which professors

and students helped manfully, in order to keep down the expenses, as the funds were not plentiful. The building was roofed and finished by September, 1897, in time for the second school year. By that date, Fr. Peter himself had been elected Guardian of the Old Mission community and he continued in office till August, 1900, when Fr. Ludger Glauber became Guardian.

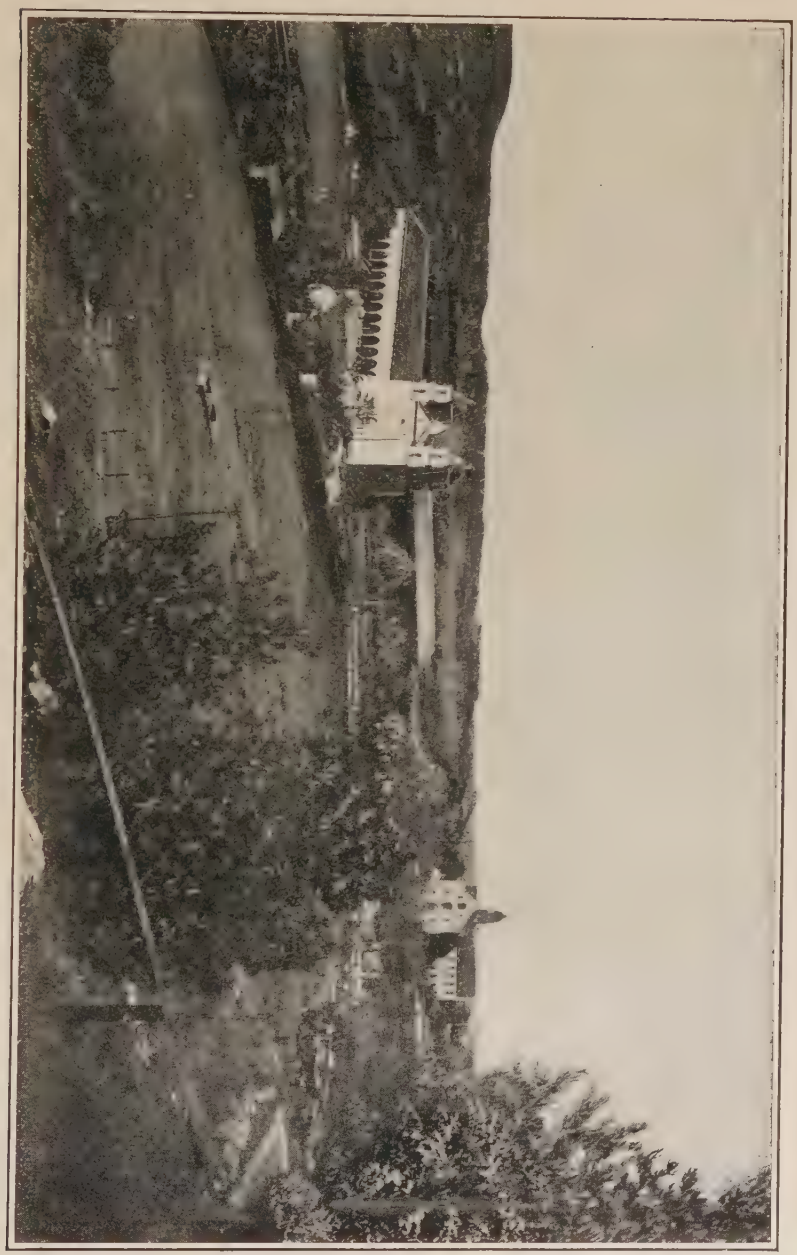
SITE OF THE PROPOSED COLLEGE. MATERIAL SECURED ON THE SPOT. FR. KILIAN AND FR. PETER IN LOWER LEFT CORNER.

During Fr. Peter's administration it was concluded that the quarters at the Old Mission were unsuitable for a properly equipped classical college, which was to supply the Order on the coast with recruits. Fr. Peter and his companion professors, therefore, petitioned for authority to erect a modern structure in keeping with the exigencies of the times and the needs of the Order. This was granted by the Provincial authorities. The work of excavating began on Thursday, August 25, 1898. The building arose in accord-

ance with the plans prepared by Brother Adrian Wewer, and was ready for dedication by April, 1901. On April 25 the Rt. Rev. George Montgomery, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles, blessed the structure under the invocation of St. Anthony de Padua. Fr. Peter continued as Rector of the College, which forms a community independent of the community at the Old Mission, until July 24, 1912, when he was succeeded by Fr. Linus Koenemund. In 1915, Fr. Peter was reappointed Rector of the College, and governed till 1920, when Fr. John Ottersedt became Rector. At the Provincial Chapter held at the Oakland monastery on July 5, 1922, Fr. Theophilus Richardt was elected Rector of the College or Seminary.

Meanwhile at the Old Mission Fr. Ludger served as Guardian till his death in May, 1907. During his administration, in 1905, an addition was built to the west end of the front wing, and the Old Mission now became a house for the study of philosophy and theology. The Professor of Theology, Fr. Theophilus Richardt, served as Superior *ad interim* till January, 1908, when Fr. Theodore Arentz became Guardian, and served as such till May, 1910. Fr. Novatus Benzing succeeded till July, 1912, when Fr. Theodore Arentz was reappointed, and ruled till December, 1916. Fr. Alban Schwartze then succeeded to the office of Guardian, and continued in that capacity till August, 1919, when Fr. Julius Gliebe became Guardian. At the close of his term of three years, the Provincial Chapter held at the Oakland monastery on July 5, 1922, elected as Guardian for the Old Mission Community, Fr. Peter Wallischeck.

In the course of time the lovely and brave Virgin and Martyr, St. Barbara, had lent her name to the Channel, the Mission, the City, and the County of Santa Barbara. She was now called upon to take under her special protection an organization of much wider import. The community at the Old Mission had grown so fast that convents and missions could be established in various places of California, Oregon, Washington, and Arizona. As early as the begin-



SANTA BARBARA MISSION AND ST. ANTHONY'S SEMINARY

ning of 1896, the Very Rev. Fr. Provincial Michael Richardt, had therefore proposed forming these convents into an independent custody or small province. The Superior General and his Council at Rome seem to have judged the plan premature, for no action was taken. Thereupon the Provincial Chapter held at St. Louis, July 22, 1896, organized the Franciscan houses in the States named into a commissariat subject to the Province of the Most Sacred Heart. At the same time the first Commissary was appointed in the person of Fr. Clementine Deymann. He died five months later, and was succeeded by Fr. Kilian Schloesser.

By the year 1915 the project of establishing an independent province on the Western Coast was again presented to the Superior General. This time it received favorable consideration. By permission from the Holy See, the Superior General and his Council, on November 7, 1915, organized the Franciscan monasteries, convents, and Indian Missions in the States of California, Oregon, Washington, and Southern Arizona into a Province under the patronage of St. Barbara, Virgin and Martyr. On the same occasion the Superior General and his Council appointed the Very Rev. Fr. Hugolinus Storff first Provincial of the new Province. He served till July 5, 1922, when, at the Provincial Chapter held in Oakland, Cal., under the presidency of the Very Rev. Fr. Samuel Macke, Visitor General, Fr. Turibius Deaver, a native of California, was chosen Provincial of the Province of Santa Barbara. This comprises one hundred priests, seventeen theologians, eight philosophers, six novices, fifty-six lay-brothers, and twenty Tertiaries Regular, in six monasteries, one seminary for boys, nine convents, and eight Indian missionary centers.

APPENDIX

A.

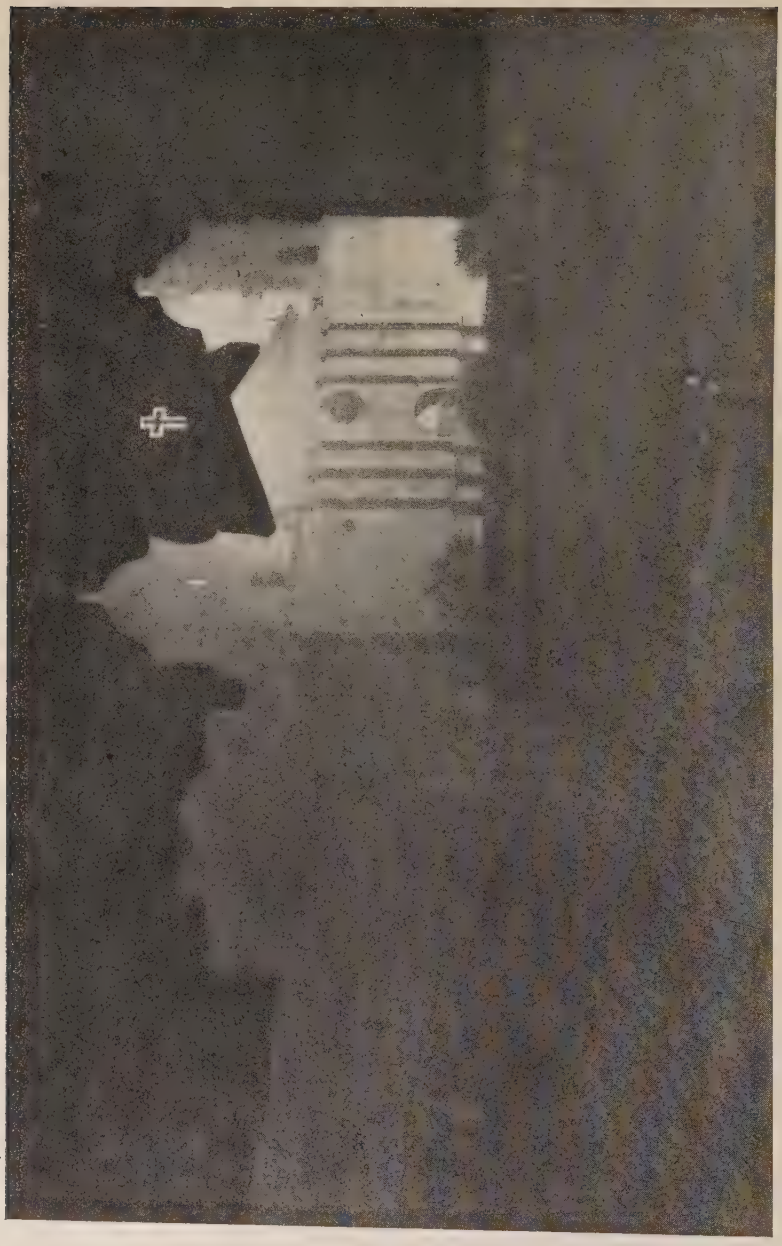
"THE QUEEN OF THE MISSIONS"

Santa Barbara has been called the "Queen of the Missions." The author himself of this history stands sponsor for the surname. And why "Queen" for Santa Barbara? The saint herself, after whom this Mission is named, lays no claim to royalty; she never ruled over a temporal principality. No, it is not the name of Santa Barbara that gives the clue to the title above; it is the appearance, the local setting of the Mission that suggested it.

Santa Barbara is the Queen among the Missions because it is raised up, as it were, on a throne and from its prominent position high above the beautiful city that lies below in the valley, it appears to hold sway over all the surroundings in an attitude of queenly dignity. In the olden days, during the time in which the events told in this history took place, Santa Barbara Mission was Queen in a more pronounced sense, perhaps, than she is today. Some of the old people, who are still with us, tell us that her stately towers loomed up beyond all else that was here; that for miles around the Mission attracted the eye and compelled it to gaze in mute and reverent admiration. Those who lived in the vicinity, down in the valley, looked up to the Mission daily and silently paid homage to the Queen that ruled their little city.

Yet, even in our day, Santa Barbara Mission is still Queen. Though the aged building is now surrounded by many beautiful homes, built up at the cost of fortunes and in the same Spanish style of architecture, and though some of these grand new structures are set up higher on the hills than the Mission itself; with all their splendor they form but the retinue of "Her Royal Majesty," whose reign began more than a hundred years ago. Her beauty is "ever ancient and ever new," and age has only emphasized her grace and dignity.

Look at the views of the Mission and surroundings and see if there is not a justification for the title "Queen." The building itself is not only set up in a commanding position, it is a structure of grand proportions: the ponderous weight of wall and arch and towers breathe a strength easily associated with royalty; the grace in proportion of lines, the harmony in the blending of soft colors suggest the beauty becoming to a fair Queen.



SANTA BARBARA MISSION FRONT BY ELECTRIC LIGHT.

And then the surroundings! Nature has built a court such as no genius of man could fashion for a queen. The mountains towards the rear rise up like a protecting barrier; rock-ribbed and lofty, they form the outworks and battlements for the royal palace. When the evening sun sends its last soft rays across these sudden slopes, a canopy of purple splendor overshadows the Mission,—so befitting Her Queenly Majesty. Nor is there lacking a realm. It is the charming valley of Santa Barbara with a wealth of sunshine and flowers, of beautiful gardens and stately homes, with here and there a gently rising knoll carpeted with green-sward, while the whole is skirted by protecting hills along the southern front of ocean. Beyond these hills and visible still from the vantage-ground up at the Mission, the waters of Santa Barbara Channel add a pleasing variety to the scene; which effect is heightened by the chain of islands that jutt out of the sea on the horizon in a misty veil of blue.

Such a panorama of ocean and mountain, of hill and dale, of gardens and meadows and wooded slopes of green, all resting peacefully under skies of perpetual spring, and suffused the year round with gentle rays of golden sunshine! It is a realm that any ruler would be proud to own! Here reigns in glory "Santa Barbara, the Queen of the Missions."

Queen I am with a royalty true
And a majesty all my own;
The Padre gave me this sceptre new
In days that have long since flown.

A throne is mine set up in state
On a dais lovely and high;
Tapestried hills my palace elate
In dignity up near the sky.

Lowly my subjects in days of old,
Mere huts of adobe and tile;
My sway they loved and homage told
In attitude humble, no guile.

These towers so stately loomed aloft
And spoke of religion and love.
To Christ, the King, both then and oft
Thereafter, I pointed above.

E'en now they owe me fealty new,
Though other the times and the land;
From far they come as pilgrims do
To shrines more ancient and grand.

An escort noble was given to me
In villas of arch and tile,
Embowered in verdure of trellise and tree
To rival my beauty and style.

In vain their grandeur and futile their airs
Put on to outshadow my throne;
My reign is unchallenged by beauty of theirs,
A retinue fair though I own.

For, where is the strength of tower and wall,
Of arch and the butress of stone?
Of might and rule they speak to you all,
And Queen I remain but alone.

My realm the valley, far-flamed for its charm,
Santa Barbara fair and the bay
That glistens in sunlight so gold and warm,
Blue skies and a clime ever May.

—Fr. Augustine, O. F. M.

B.

ST. BARBARA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR.

Although what we know of the Patron Saint of the Mission is mostly traditional and legendary, it may be said to come down to us from time immemorial. It also agrees with the situation in the first three centuries of the Christian Era, as recorded in the documentary accounts of other prominent Christian virgins and martyrs. Hence, the remarkable incidents related about our Saint may be regarded as well worthy of belief. At any rate, veneration for St. Barbara appears to have been quite general in the Greek as well as in the Latin Church so far back as the seventh century; for the earliest martyrology, which dates from the end of that century, mentions St. Barbara, Virgin and Martyr. Furthermore, it is certain that before the ninth century the Saint was publicly venerated in the East and the West, and that she was indeed very popular with Christian nations. With the German races especially, St. Barbara is enumerated among the Fourteen Helpers to whom appeal is made in every necessity of the body and the soul.

The old Roman Martyrology, which in a nutshell, so to speak, recounts the chief features in the lives of the Saints of God, on December 4 commemorates our beloved Patron as follows: "At Nicomedia, the martyrdom of St. Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, who, in the persecution of Emperor Maximin, after having suffered a long imprisonment, was burnt with torches, had her breasts cut off, and

after other tortures secured the crown of martyrdom by being beheaded." Around these essential facts tradition has woven a beautiful account which is herewith reproduced entire.

Many suppose that St. Barbara lived in the middle of the third century, and that she received instructions in Christian Doctrine from the great ecclesiastical writer Origen in person or by means of letters. Her father was Dióscoros, who, besides being of a ferocious disposition, was a most fanatical worshipper of the idols of the empire. Fearful lest someone should fall in love with his extremely beautiful daughter, he erected a tower in which he arranged a number of well-furnished apartments for herself and servants. There Barbara passed her girlhood and grew to womanhood. Dióscoros engaged the best scholars of the period to educate his daughter, and as she possessed a brilliant talent, and was of a rather philosophical turn of mind, she made splendid progress in the sciences of the day. When not occupied at her lessons Barbara, in her guilded seclusion, would entertain herself contemplating the countless multitude of stars, the sun, moon, and other planets that beautify the heavenly dome, the regularity of their positions and course, and the magnificent harmony manifest in all nature. This noble occupation elevated her spirit to such heights that she could not fail to reach the conviction of the existence of a Supreme Intelligent Being, and of the absurdity of the multiplicity of pagan gods.

What must be the wisdom, this logical young woman enthusiastically discussed with herself, what the power and the foresight of the Artificer, Who created this vast universe! Who has arranged so cleverly all the parts of which it is composed; and Who keeps it all in such wonderful order! Who could possibly imagine that this grand work, this vast and magnificent universe, made itself, or that this world, which is so well organized, and so well embellished, is the effect of an accident? Can one fail to recognize in the whole, and in each of its parts, a Supreme Intelligence which created it, conserves it, and controls it? How little our gods deserve the name, and how puny is their power to produce this grand result! It is well known that they received their existence from others; therefore, they have not existed always nor have they created themselves. Hence, this young philosophical pagan girl argued to herself, there must be a Being of infinite intelligence which never began to exist, but which must have existed always.

About the time that Barbara thus opened her eyes to the light of sound reason, the old chronicle proceeds, the fame of the great Origen came to her ears. He had the name of a great philosopher, wherefore Barbara determined to consult him in order to entreat him to extricate her from the labyrinth of uncertainties which the various philosophical systems of the period only increased and aggravated. As yet, she knew nothing about Christianity, the one philosophy which satis-

fies the intellect and gratifies the longings of the heart. By means of a trusty servant, doubtless, a meeting with the great man was arranged. Origen cleared up her doubts and confirmed her in the conviction of the existence of an Infinite Intelligence, which she had reasoned out for herself, and that this Infinite Intelligence was the beginning and end of everything. This glimpse into true philosophy aroused a hunger and thirst in the heart of the maiden for more knowledge on the subject, and Origen promised to communicate it. Other meetings followed, and thus step by step the great teacher initiated his brilliant pupil into the mysteries of Christianity. What aided her perceptions materially was the fact that Barbara had preserved her heart unspotted, in the midst of the pagan surroundings, from sheer love of purity the value of which she fully realized only when she had learned the price put on it by the Founder of Christianity. The result of the instructions received was that, unknown to her father, Barbara had herself baptized, and thereafter regulated her life in keeping with the precepts of the Christian Religion. Furthermore, like many a Christian maiden before and after her time, she resolved to preserve her virginity as a most precious virtue, but now out of affection for the Divine Spouse of virgins.

The young Christian maiden continued in her tower-home to fulfil the Christian duties as well as the circumstances permitted, when one day Dióscoros, her father, appeared in her apartment with a plan which he took for granted would please her exceedingly. It was not affection for his lovely daughter that prompted him, however. Avarice had smothered the love for his child, and he had determined to marry her to a wealthy suitor. He accordingly proposed the marriage to her, and pictured the life with the would-be groom in the most attractive manner. Barbara in her dilemma interiorly appealed for aid and strength to her Divine Master, and then contrived to express her disinclination to the marriage in such a gentle manner that her father, although disappointed, was not offended. Hoping to succeed with his project at some other time without having to use force, Dióscoros withdrew. Supposing, however, that the seclusion in which he had allowed his child to grow to womanhood might be the cause of her disgust with worldly society, he tried to induce her to leave her quiet home and to join in various festivities. Furthermore, he ordered another house erected adjoining the tower and splendidly furnished for his daughter. In his absence on a lengthy journey, the ardent convert persuaded the builders to put three windows in the outer-wall, instead of two as her father had directed. Her secret object was to thus express her belief in the Most Holy Trinity. When Dióscoros returned, he had this residence of his beloved child magnificently decorated and filled with representations of the heathen gods to which he was most attached. Then he invited Barbara to come down from her apart-

FIRST PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS OF ST. ANTHONY'S COLLEGE AT THE OLD MISSION, SEPTEMBER 22, 1896.—See page 422.

ments in the tower, and to henceforth occupy the residence his love had provided for her.

On entering, the young maiden stood amazed at beholding the tapestry covered with pagan figures, and idols filling every space and corner. Unable to repress her contempt and indignation, Barbara turned to her father and exclaimed: "What are these ridiculous figures and images for here?" The surprised father, deeply wounded at the question and the contempt which his daughter manifested for his gods, replied in a harsh and severe tone: "How is it that you speak thus? Why do you call ridiculous figures the sacred images of our gods? Do you not know what respect is due them, and the punishment to which they expose themselves who insult them?" "Is it possible, father," Barbara returned undaunted, "is it possible that a man of your judgment and intelligence can regard as gods the works of men? Do you not know the infamies of a Venus, the horrible disorders of a Mars, of a Neptune, of an Apollo, and of Jupiter himself? The bare multiplicity of deities is too monstrous for sound human reason to contemplate! Know, dear father, that there is no more than one true God, who is Infinite Intelligence, and who is the sole Creator and Conserver of all things. He alone is the Almighty and Infinite Lord of the universe, the only Master of the destinies of mankind. This God alone is worthy of respect and of adoration. Every other divinity is but a myth."

The feelings of the fanatical Dióscoros may be imagined. He had been fondly cherishing a belief which his own child, of all the people in the world, now declared was but an unworthy chimera! Her reasoning was unanswerable, too, and this stung him to the quick. Not guided by reason, he was not open to reason. Since he could find no argument to disprove his daughter's logic, he would employ brute force instead. Furious that his beloved idols should be insulted in his own house, and by his daughter, too, forgetting all natural ties, in his frenzy Dióscoros rushed out for a sword in order to kill Barbara right there and then. Knowing well of what her ferocious parent was capable in his fury, she ran away to hide herself in the country. On finding that his daughter had made good her escape, Dióscoros swore by his gods that he would avenge them and would himself be his daughter's executioner. When he had ascertained her whereabouts, he hastened to the cave in which she had taken refuge, dragged her out in a most brutal manner, and was about to kill her, when it suddenly struck him that he could revenge himself in a legal way with impunity. He accordingly brought his daughter before the imperial prefect, and formally accused her of being a Christian.

Captivated by the beauty and the modest demeanor of the young maiden, Marcian, the judge, at once ordered her to be freed from the

ropes with which she had been dragged before him, and severely rebuked the father for treating his daughter so inhumanly. The judge then praised her for her beauty, her talents, and for other qualities, in short, he cunningly employed the most powerful motives that could win the simplicity of a young woman. Finally, he proposed that she should abjure the Christian Religion and recognize the gods of the empire.

Barbara now opened her lips, and spoke with such conviction and firmness about the nothingness of the things with which the prefect had sought to beguile her, and about the folly of adoring lifeless idols, or worshipping the images of loathsome men and women of the past, that the judge and bystanders were astounded. At the same time, they all felt that it would be useless to attempt to change her mind.

The prefect was not inclined to proceed with the case, but for fear of falling into disfavor with the emperor, Marcian ordered Barbara to be flogged, and then to be incarcerated in a dungeon. First, however, she was clad in a mere gown made of bristles. This tormented her exceedingly, because the beating had lacerated the whole body. The old chronicle relates that in her dungeon Barbara was comforted by Christ Himself, who also healed all her wounds. At any rate, when Marcian had her brought before his tribunal next day, she appeared happy and perfectly restored. The judge wanted to persuade her that she owed her restoration to health to the power of the pagan gods; but the intrepid Barbara replied: "Sir, are you so blind as to believe that the idols which themselves need the hands of men to be what they are, could have been able to work this prodigy? None of your false gods possesses any such power. He who cured me is Jesus Christ alone, the true God of all. Even though you make pieces of my body, He who has restored my health, can again restore life. I will make Him a sacrifice of my life, as I am assured that whoever dies for love of Him will live with Him forever."

Frantic with rage on hearing this bold answer, the prefect commanded her sides to be torn with an iron hook, and then burnt with blazing torches. While this cruel and shocking torture was inflicted, Barbara preserved her cheerfulness. The only sound heard from the martyr was a fervent supplication to her Divine Master for strength to persevere. This prayer and the constancy of the Christian heroine exasperated the brute, so that he ordered her breasts to be cut away. Finally, he commanded her to be beheaded.

Dióscoros, who had witnessed all these inhuman tortures of his once most beloved child, would not rest satisfied with all she had already suffered. He requested the privilege of carrying out the sentence himself. This was granted, and so to the horror of the multitude the

unnatural father actually took the life of his own daughter. Heaven, however, would not permit the awful deed to go unpunished. The chronicle relates that when Dióscoros descended the hill on which the martyrdom of the saintly maiden had taken place, although no sign of a tempest was observed, a sudden clatter of lightning was heard, and Dióscoros was seen to fall down dead. Thus the earth was delivered of an inhuman monster. Some time later the same fate overtook Prefect Marcian. On this account St. Barbara is invoked against thunderbolts and sudden death, or against death without the Last Sacraments. Thus far runs the story in the old chronicles.

Artists are very fond of depicting our Saint, and they take pains to note the symbols that distinguish her from other virgin martyrs. Usually she is represented standing by a tower or castle with three windows. In one hand she holds the palm of victory; the other hand rests on the hilt of a sword. Most frequently the Saint is pictured as holding in her right hand a golden chalice which is surmounted by a host surrounded with rays. At her feet lie cannon, indicating the general belief that St. Barbara enjoys the privilege from God of protecting her clients from sudden death by thunderbolt or lightning; also that she is the patron of seafarers and artillerymen. Indeed, on Spanish ships of war the powder-room or magazine is simply called Santa Barbara.

C.

FR. PEDRO FONT'S OBSERVATIONS.

(To Chapter II.)

Fr. Pedro Font, O. F. M., who in 1775-1776 accompanied Col. J. B. Anza's expedition in the capacity of chaplain and chronicler, in his *Diário* describes the various Indian tribes and their habits somewhat more minutely than either Fr. Juan Crespi or Costanzó. Fr. Font was a keen observer, and singularly fearless in his statements, a fact which in many instances explains situations and occurrences which Fr. Crespi either overlooked or dared not relate. As the Sonora Franciscan's account throws additional light on the Indians of the Santa Barbara Channel region, it is worth the while to reproduce his statements.

Anza's expedition, on Saturday, February 24, 1776, reached Rincon, nine leagues from the Rio Santa Clara. On the same date the chronicler wrote in his *Diário*: "The Indians of the Channel are of the

Quabaja (Cuabajai) nation.[1] They and the Beñeme[2] carry on a trade with the Jamajabs (Mohaves) and others of the Rio Colorado for shells, which they (coast Indians) hunt amid the sands of the beach, and for *abalorios*[3] which they make from the shells, and of which they wear long strings around their necks and in their hair.

"The men go entirely naked. For the sake of adornment only, they generally wear a girdle of fibres which covers them not at all. On the head they tie up the hair in a sort of lump or crown. In this they fasten some little stick or plume, especially a kind of knife, which is a thin blade of wood, about two fingers wide and about a foot long. On one end of it they tie and secure with pitch a somewhat large and sharp flint which has a double edge. On the other end they fasten another flint, sharp and pointed like a dagger. This knife is made of iron, if they can obtain it, or of any other hard material. All the men wear this crosswise in the lump on the head" (somewhat after the fashion of a woman's hatpin).

"They carry a *desudadero*, which is a bone somewhat sharpened. With this they scrape the body when they are in perspiration. They remove the perspiration in this way, and say that it is very good, because the fatigue is thus taken away.

"Some have the cartilege of the nose pierced, and all have the auricle perforated by two large holes. In these they carry tubes of cane or other material the thickness of a small finger, and about half a foot long, which resemble horns. Within these tubes they carry their wild tobacco reduced to powder, or any other trifle.

"Their language is entirely distinct from other languages.

"The chief whom they recognize in their rancherías they call *temí*.

"The women cover themselves with deer skins hanging from a girdle, and with a cape of otter skins over the shoulders. However, of these women I saw but few, because as soon as they descried us, they would in all haste shut themselves up in their huts, especially the young women, and the men would then stay outside guarding the doorways, taking care that no one entered within. I once approached a

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[1] Fr. Garcés in his *Diário* places the Cuabajai between the sierra and channel. Kroeber, *Mission Record of California Indians*, p. 15, classes them with the Chumash.

[2] Fr. Garcés assigns as their habitat the region between the Rio Santa Clara and Mission San Gabriel. See Coues *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, pp. 444-445.

[3] *Abalorios*, beads of all kinds. The Indian beads were about the size of a China shirt button, but with only one hole for the string. They constituted the money of the Indians. The length of the string determined the value.

hut that stood open, in order to examine its construction which, of all the huts I had seen along the whole journey, is the best. The form is round, very spacious, large and high, the shape of half an orange. In the center of the top the hut has an opening for the admission of light. It serves also for a chimney through which the smoke escapes from the fire they make in the center of the habitation. In some of these huts there are along the sides two or three apertures like small windows. The framework of all are strong poles bent toward the center of the top. The walls are of coarse dried grass (or tules), which is woven in between the poles. In the doorway there is a curtain made of palm leaves (or tules). This closes from within after the manner of a screen. On the outside is another which they fasten with a whalebone or a stick. Well, I reached the doorway, and although I made no move to go inside, because I had already observed the repugnance of the Indians, yet not two minutes elapsed ere they closed the doorway from the inside, and I retired with a new experience.

"These effects have been caused by the extortions and violence which were perpetrated on the part of the soldiers when they in their journeys passed along the channel, especially in the beginning. Among them a fellow named Camacho excelled. He left behind among the Indians such a widely spread repute that they call every soldier *Camacho*. All that the Indians would ask us was concerning Camacho. Where is Camacho? Will Camacho come again?"[4]

Fr. Font's observations regarding the soldiers were corroborated by the Fr. Guardian and Councillors of the College of San Fernando de Mexico. Writing to the King of Spain under date of February 26, 1776, almost the same day on which Fr. Font penned his remarks, they report: "The soldiers abuse the pagan females. This enormous wickedness in all the Missions has mortified the missionary Fathers awfully, as they considered that, besides the scandal given those unfortunate Indians, the soldiers place the whole conquest in the gravest danger."[5]

"Among the Indian men I saw a few with a kind of cape of bear

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[4] We indeed find Anastasio Camacho, a soldier of the San Diego garrison in 1775, José Antonio Camacho, José Miguel Camacho, and Tomas M. Camacho, who was killed on the Colorado in 1781. These soldiers belonged either to the Monterey or to San Diego garrison. Which of them was the criminal to whom Fr. Font refers, it is not easy to determine.

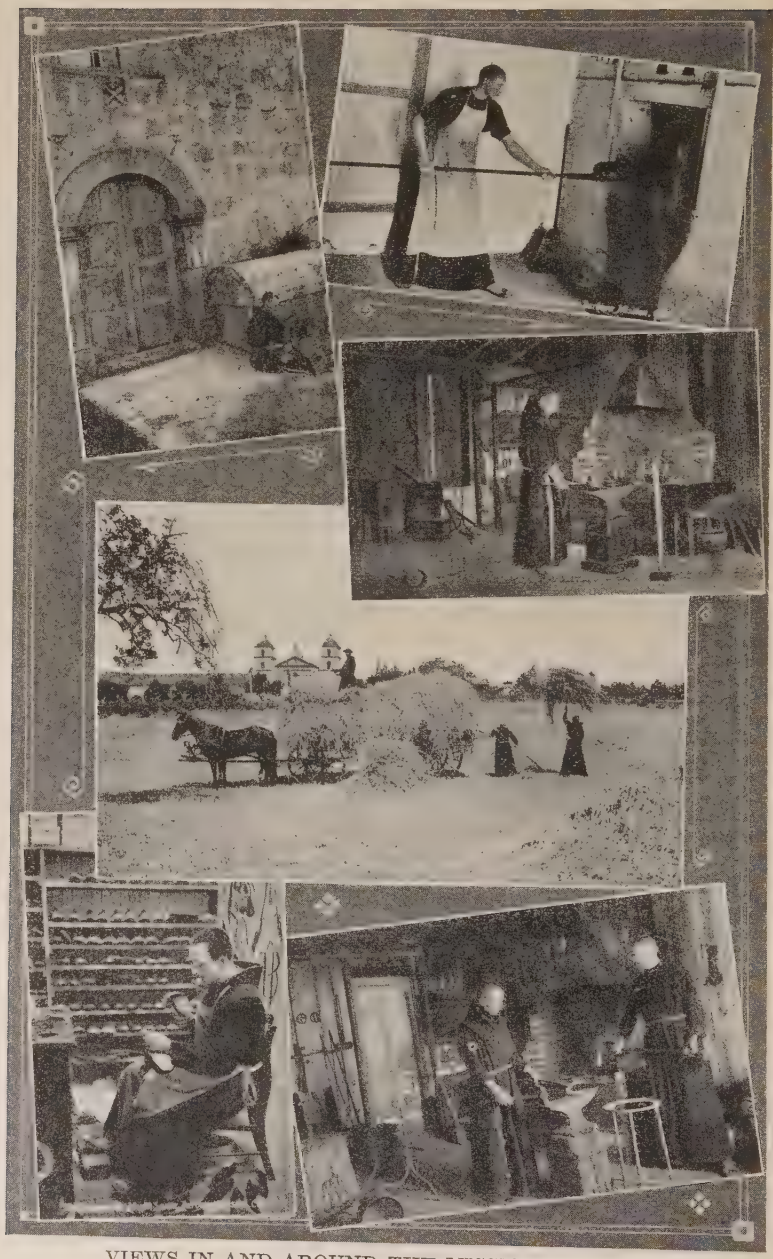
[5] *Las Misiones de la Alta California*, Mexico, Palacio Nacional, 1914, p. 78. For more on the guards of the Missions, see the index of our larger work.

skin, something like an overall that reached down to the girdle. I understood that this was worn as a distinction by the owners of the canoes. These Indians are great fishermen and very clever. They (the women rather) make baskets of various shapes, and other things, such as trays, small boxes of wood, and some things of stone. Above all they build canoes, which are curiously constructed from various planks which they join by tying the edges together with very strong fibres, and then fill the junctures with pitch. In this manner the canoes turn out very strong and secure. Some are even embellished with small shells, and all are painted in Indian red. Their structure is like that of a small boat without ribs. The extremities at the two ends are somewhat raised and bent upward. In the center of the boat or canoe is a board which reaches from border to border and serves as a bench and for strengthening the convexity of the hull. Each boat of this kind is composed of twenty pieces. Some are large, some are small. I measured one of them, and found that it was about twenty-six feet long, and about two feet deep. In each launch of this kind, when they take to the sea, or go afishing, according to my observation, regularly no more than two Indians set out, one on each end. They carry poles about two yards long, which terminate in a sort of shovel. These are the oars, which they row, alternately paddling on one side and then on the other of the canoe. In this place, called Rinconada, I counted nine boats, and one that was out of repair. It struck me that with some instruction these Indians would make great sailors.

"All the villages and rancherías along the channel have their common playground. It is a piece of land well cleared and leveled, and having low walls all around, as in the case of ball games. There they play by running after a piece of rounded wood.

"They have also near the rancherías what we called a cemetery where they interred their dead. This they form of poles and tablets which they paint in various colors—white, black, and red, and these they stick into the ground. On some very high, straight and thin poles which, because we saw them from some distance and called turrets, they put baskets that belonged to the dead; likewise other things which in their opinion may have been of some value, such as pieces of cloth, shells, and even pieces of arrows. Over the dead they place the ribs or other large bones of whales that run aground on these coasts.

"Likewise they have a common sweathouse which is a closed, warm room for sweating. They construct it somewhat below the ground very solidly of poles and earth. In the top there is an opening something like a hatchway, which serves as an air hole, and as a doorway through which they enter and descend within by means of a ladder.



VIEWS IN AND AROUND THE MISSION OF TODAY.

This consists of poles stuck into the ground straight, and tied together in such a way that one pole is shorter than the other. I peeped into one such *temescal*, and perceived that the air arising from within was very warm. In the center of the *temescal* they start a fire, and the Indians enter it naked and sit all around in a circle to perspire. As soon as they perspire copiously so that the perspiration wets the ground, they emerge and quickly run to throw themselves into the sea or stream nearby for a bath. These Indians are well formed and healthy of body, although not very robust in my judgment, owing to so much sweating.

"The women are of pretty agreeable looks, and they have pendents in the ears. They wear the hair in front cut short and arranged like a toupe, whilst the rest hangs down over the shoulders.

"The weapons which these Indians use are the bow and arrows. The arrows are of wood well made and curiously wrought, but not like the arrows which the Apaches, Pimas and others generally use. Bows are small, about a yard long, but very strong, and all provided with a string of graceful make.

"Their habits are like those of other Indians. They live without law, without ruler, and without any especial knowledge of God, so far as I could perceive. They are devoted to fishing, with which and with the wild seeds they maintain themselves without much misery from hunger. They are also ingenious, and not very stupid. So far as appeared to me, for although we had no interpreter to speak to them, we understood one another by means of signs like the dumb. With these signs they expressed themselves well enough. However, they are expert thieves, which is characteristic of every Indian. Everywhere they showed themselves to us to be gentle and peaceful, and to me they did not appear very warlike; but it will not be easy to convert them, because, in the first place, they are disgusted with the Spaniards for what they did to the Indians, now taking away the fishes and other food in order to provide themselves with provisions when they passed along the channel, and then stealing the Indian women and abusing them; and in the second place, because these Indians are very fond of living on the coast, along which, although there are more than thirty arroyos, there is not a spot suitable for establishing a Mission, on account of the little water which the arroyos carry, many of which run entirely dry in the course of the year; but especially for lack of extensive level land adapted for raising grain. With regard to pasture lands, there are such and good ones everywhere; and in some places there is an abundance of timber and trees.

"Finally, the tribe that occupies the land along the channel is very numerous. It is indeed the most populous country so far as I have seen, and can be calculated according to the rancherías which I name

as we proceed. Nevertheless, I do not agree with the calculation of the company which declared in the beginning that there were more than twenty thousand souls, because, although there are indeed rancherías, which may have in excess of one thousand souls, most of them do not have a thousand souls; and some there are that, I think, have not five hundred souls. In this place, La Rinconada, there is an arroyo in the very rincón (corner) where there is the ranchería. When we had passed it, we pitched the camp on a little elevation very near the sea, of which there is a very extensive view. Fogs, however, prevented us from seeing the islands which we had in front of us. Among the Indians who came to the camp, I saw one who wore a cotton blanket, such as are made by the Pimas of the Gila River, wherefore I concluded that he may have acquired it at such distance through trading with those Indians. The natives here showed and pointed out to me an Indian who was there, and they told me that he was from the large island in channel which is called Santa Cruz Island, and that he had come over to enjoy himself. It is really wonderful to see how they navigate those waters. Although his hair was of a reddish color, it seemed to me that he was very much like the Indians on the mainland. . . . The Fathers told me that the viceroy had directed and had commanded the governors that they should see that the islands were not depopulated, especially the Island of Santa Cruz; and that they should not induce the Indians to leave it in order to settle on the mainland or to be converted to Christianity.'' Later on the order was reversed, and many became Christians, as the reader will know from preceding pages.

''On February 25, Sunday,'' Fr. Font continues, ''I celebrated holy Mass. We set out from the *Ranchería de la Rinconada*, at nine in the morning, and at three in the afternoon we went into camp at a place called the *Vicinity of the Rancherías de Mescaltitan*, after we had traveled some nine leagues, that is to say six leagues to the west and somewhat to the northwest, two leagues to the northwest, and the last short league to the southwest, in order to avoid some estuaries that are near there. The road was like yesterday along the shore. After two leagues we reached the rancherías of San Buenaventura, of which there are two, one on each side of a plain about a league in size, where it was intended to found the Mission of San Buenaventura, which is already endowed, but which was not founded on account of the lack of supplies (of guards, rather). It has some pastures, enough live oaks, but little water. Another league brought us to the Ranchería de la Laguna, where in exchange for beads some *coritas* (baskets) were secured, and we provided ourselves with fishes, because on the occasion a canoe arrived bringing various kinds of good fishes. They were of a distinct color and form which I did not know. On

this occasion I saw how the Indians took the boats out of the water. It was this way. On touching land, ten or twelve men approached. They raised the canoes with the fishes on their shoulders, and carried it to the house of the owner of the boat, who was distinguished from the others by wearing a cape of bear skin. The instruments with which they catch the fish are large traps of basketry, and hooks which they make of shells, and they also employ a sort of small net made of strong fibres like hemp." Thereafter Fr. Font's description is of little interest for the region around Santa Barbara. What he relates will be utilized in connection with Mission Purisima and San Luis Obispo.

D.

PRAYERS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE INDIANS.

(To Chapter IX.)

The Lord's Prayer.

Dios cascoco upalequen Alaipai quia-enicho opte: paquinini juch quique etchuet upalag cataug itimi tiup caneche Alaipai.

Ulamugo ila ulalisagua piquiyup qucupe guinsneeaniyup uqui amog canequi que quisagiu sucutanajun uti-agmayiup oyup quie uti leg uleyop stequiyup il auteyup. Amen.

Act of Faith.

Dios nox pi capaupi ulinu cagnepi capipi ul Santa Iglesia uquiya sacantuch contuch dela ultiepit ul Santa Iglesia. Cantuch ipicac Dios. Cantuch capec hueleguas mevela ulquiqui Santuch icapsa sumanagu. Alaipai ulischojo suquepes. Cantuch capsas lumanagu missupu uligeneche. Cantuch que el Misterio de la Santisima Trinidad cacayan cascoco, us Huopo, que Espiritu Santo, si masseye Personas que pacasi Dios. Cantuch Dios Huppo se cuele idigei us acsegus Maria Santisima cuc-elagua me mali soljoni salag-sumun inono iquig-que uquilja el ţipas cagna sac-sa ul Santa Cruz esquinanicoi masege ilalisagua Chugualamesa puit. Dios Cascojo caquimi usuuna sajetini sac ticulumog uchojo que uligeneche. Cantuch ul Santo Sacramento usajiyep uquiya-has. Cantuch iquisa quinanicoyo guasa mic-si yugui uquiyamuen. Cantuch yela ucalcantuch ul Santa Iglesia Catolica, Apostolica, Romana ul tiyepiyug ulinu. Amen.

Act of Hope.

Dios nox capsun uscuyit caquepi capa chojo yelapni sene que panteque cuiyamus i Jesucristo sajin sajinsu-cutanit yela ucascagua sa ecuelit ic-chojo suquepes sanunanit Alaipai. Amen.

HIS EXCELLENCY, MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP DIOMEDE FALCONIO, O. F. M., APOSTOLIC DELEGATE, IN THE PATIO OF THE MISSION, MAY 7, 1903. LEFT TO RIGHT: F. F. LUDGER, VICTOR, THEODORE, EUGENE, AND CYPRIAN, THE PROVINCIAL.

ACT OF CHARITY.

Dios nox caquepi capanchojo caquepi capanchojo ipantee que caquepi pagnichoyug iquigque nono cagnicholi yela ú canteque que sinigualaitsi yela ocascagua upsuju quiliniguas no capsunus cuyin caquequimi icascaguichi caquepi capra oyonit casutiquemue cagnichojo caesa caquequimi icascaguichi. Dios nox que yeguin ipsoyonit meche yela ulquiqui. Dios nox cagnichojo yela uleu. Amen.

TRANSLATION.

ACT OF FAITH.

O my God! I believe all the truths the Holy Church teaches. I believe in one only God All-powerful, who created heaven and earth out of nothing. I believe in the mystery of the Most Blessed Trinity, one God in three Divine Persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. I believe that the Son of God became incarnate, was born of most holy Mary, and for our salvation suffered and died on the Cross; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty. I believe in the most holy Sacrament of the Altar, Thou art actually present in body, soul and divinity. I believe all that the Holy, Roman, Apostolic, Catholic Church teaches, the same being necessary for our salvation. Amen.

ACT OF HOPE.

O my God! Relying upon Thy infinite goodness and promises, I hope to obtain pardon for my sins, the assistance of Thy grace, and life everlasting, through the merits of Jesus Christ. Amen.

ACT OF LOVE.

O my God! I love Thee above all things with my whole heart and soul, purely because Thou art infinitely perfect, and deserving of all love; I love my neighbor as myself; for the love of Thee, I forgive all who have injured me, and ask pardon of all whom I have injured. Amen.

E.

THE SUN-DIAL.

(To page 95.)

The Missionary Fathers placed a sun-dial upon the wall. The shadow of the style or gnomon marked the time of day on the face. See the engraving on page 95. On this particular dial, in the unchanging language of the Catholic Church, are chiseled the following significant and beautiful words: "Lux Dei Vitae Viam Monstrat—Sed Umbra Horam Atque Fidem Docet." In English this means: "The light of

God shows the way of life; but the shadow tells the hour and teaches the Faith.''

In the patio, or court, of the Mission is another sun-dial, which lies flat on the coping of the fountain. The inscription, in circular form, reads: ''Ex Hoc Momento Pendet Aeternitas.''—''Upon This Moment Depends Eternity.'' This dial was arranged and placed in position by the astronomer, the Rev. Clarence E. Woodman, C. S. P., of Newman Hall, Berkeley, Cal.

F.

YA VIENE EL ALBA.

(Morning Hymn at the Missions)

(To page 351.)

1.

The dawn appears and ushers in the day,
Ave Maria! fondly let us pray.

2.

For sinners' consolation wert thou born,
First ray of hope and brilliant star of morn.

3.

Thy birth, O Queen, is Heaven's richest boon,
It fills the earth with joy, dispels sin's gloom.

4.

The cunning serpent, writhes and coils in pain,
Lest it do harm, thou fetterest it with chains.

5.

At sound of thy sweet name, O Virgin chaste!
Doth tremble hell, and demons fly in haste.

6.

With voices glad and joyful let us sing
A hymn to Mary, Mother of our King!

G.

INDIAN RANCHERÍAS MENTIONED IN THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER OF MISSION SANTA BARBARA.

Acchumu
Achililiguc
Acsegu
Acsu
Agisnasna
Aguamon
Aguepe
Ahuaman
Aiguejcumoc
Aijulpistuc
Ajtanamu
Alcajch (San Francisco)
Alcaz, Alacasa (San Rafael)
Aliguigui, Aleguigui
Alisospno
Anajue
Aniiguajicu
Anuec
Aquitsumu
Asolaygne, Asoleygne

Cagaz (on island)
Caieguaj
Cajachs
Cajasa, Cajas
Cajtec
Cajats, Cajatsa (on island)
Cajate
Calabauaja
Calahuacha
Calaguasa
Calavaia
Casil, Casili
Castoi
Catstaita
Casu
Celejmone
Celiet
Chalajuaj
Chalaguaj, Salaguay, Salahuaj (Montecito)
Chahua (on island)
Chailou
Chichiu (on island)
Chicolop (El Cojo)
Chiuchiuc (on island)
Chisolop, Sisolop
Chnajalayegua
Chniguaj, Sniguaj
Choloosos (on island)
Chuccu, Succu (Rincon)
Cochu, Cohuchu, Coochup
Cogosiup
Coloc (El Pederon)
Conocho
Cujaz
Cuyam, Cuyamu, Cuyamo

Ejmana, Elgmana, Eljman
Ejnoj, Esnojs
Elehuascui
Eleuajcu (on island)
Elihec, Geliec
Esnajalayegua
Esniguaja
Esnocyo
Estucu, Estuco

Geliapalete
Geliec, Jeliec (Las Llagas)
Geliege
Geliet
Gelioc, Geliuc
Gelma
Gelo (San Francisco)
Gelsege
Gulseque
Guaimonasi
Guaiasap, Guisap Guiasape
Gualagoasac
Gueleme
Guelegimana
Guelfinen
Guiligui, Guililigui
Guima (on island)

Homnogio, Onogio, Onojio, Onomgio
Hotso
Huelequimet (en la Sierra)
Huelqueme
Huicapa
Huichap
Huililioqui
Huiteliyic (Las Llagas)

Ichenen (on island)
Ichueman (on island)
Inojo
Isauloa (on island)
Isniguaja
Isnojotso

Jajas (on island)
Jalahuaj
Jalayegua
Janalja
Jamaya
Janaya, Janayan
Janayat
Janucat
Jaspili
Jilit
Jonayab (Pedregoso)
Jonsonata
Joutu
Juctu
Jumali

Lacayamu (on island)
Lecayaaen (on island)
Liam, Liama (on island)
Lugups (on island)

Machalo
Maichela (on island)
Malapua, Malapuana
Mascal
Maschal, Maschaala (on island).
Matsnojotso
Masochaala (on island)
Matilya
Mescaltitan

Miasap, Miosop, Miasapa
Michopsno, Misopsno (Carpenteria)
Miguigui (San Pedro y San Pablo)
Mihausapiq
Milaluhuc
Milaluica (on island)
Milimolo
Miobs
Mismatac
Misomes
Missaj
Mitunami (en Tulares)
Mugu

Nague
Najalayegue, Najalasegui
Niacela (on island)
Nialco
Nigua, Niguaja, Niguajo
Nilaluya (on island)
Nimguelquel
Nunguelquet (on island)

Olcut
Onayot
Onumio

Pizopano
Pueblos, Dos

Sacca
Sacaya, Sacay, Sajcay
Sajcoya
Salagua, Salajuaj, Salaguaj (San Bernardino)
Saloguat
Sasguico
Sashuagel (on island)
Sasno
Saspili, Saspilil, Jaspili (San Miguel-Mescaltitan)
Scinogso
Sciuctio
Selma
Senapachet
Siguaya (on island)
Sigueco, Siguecon
Sigua, Siguaia, Suiguia
Siguyaicono
Sihuicon
Sincsihui
Singua
Sinojo, Senojoch
Sinojoso, Senojoso
Sinojs
Sisolop
Sisuchi, Sesuchi, Susuchi (La Quemada)
Sisabanonase
Sitaj
Siujhe, Siujha
Siuecono, Siuicon
Siuesiu (on island)
Siuchi, Siusi, Siuichi
Siugtu, Siujtu, Siustu, Siutu, Sictu
Siuhaya
Snajalayegua
Snihuaj (San Francisco)
Snojs
Snoposo
Soctonocumu
Soltomoco
Somes
Sotonocmo
Stuccu
Succu
Suino
Suit
Suljahuit
Susachie

Tajlipu
Tanaajacja
Tanisacha (Tulares)
Teguepit, Tegueput
Tegueps, Tegueps
Teliec
Tigueco
Tinocotso
Tolcomoco
Torsteche (on island)
Tucan (on island)
Tucu, Tucui
Tuihucan
Tsnojotso

Uchapa

Viapa

On March 12, 1796, Captain Felipe de Goycoechea reported to Governor Diego Borica the pagan rancherías, their chiefs, and inhabitants as follows:

Rancherías	Chiefs	Souls
Sisolopo (in San Buenaventura district),	Liguiguiya,	80
El Rincon,	(has none),	68
La Carpenteria,	Pachjaguay, Isanuna, Nemaita,	97
El Paredon,	Atasuit,	31
El Montecito,	Sagapueje (woman)	62
Yuctu (at the presidio),	Yanonali,	125

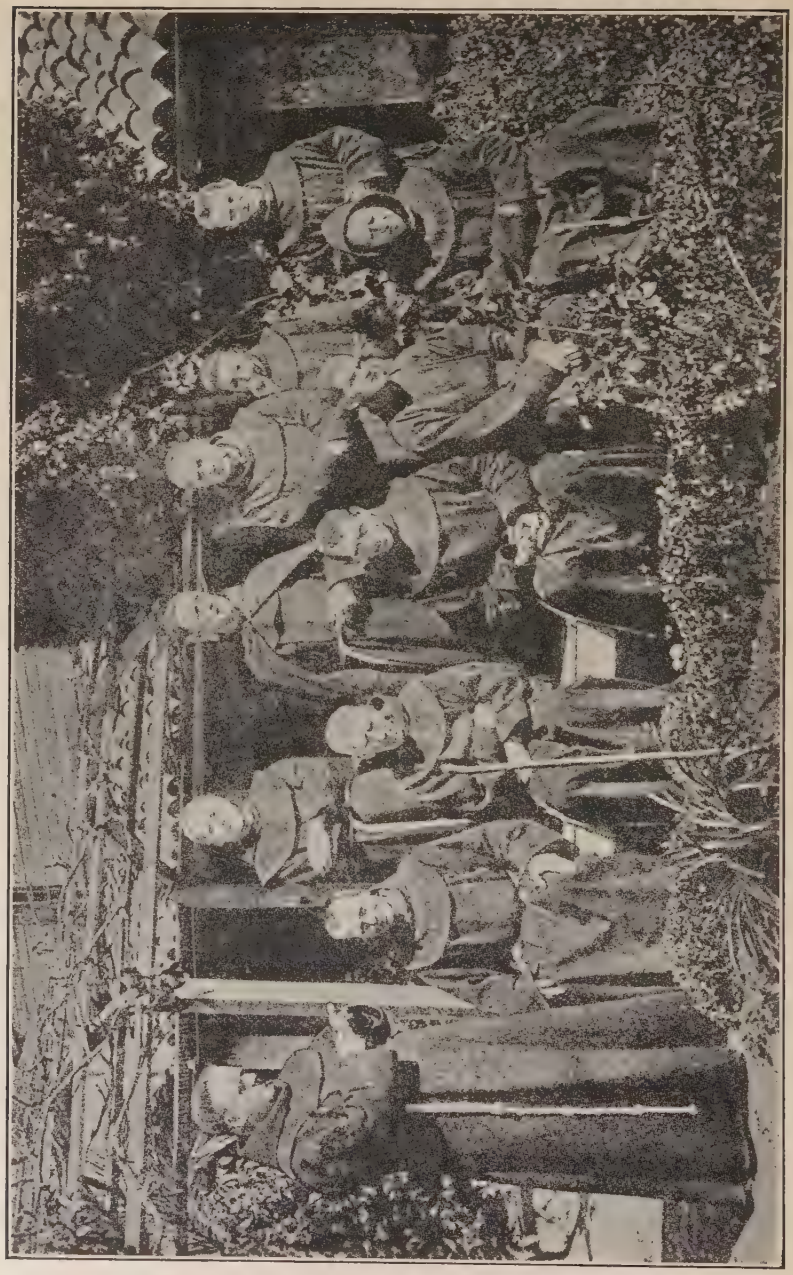
Sacpili,	Yuyunachet,	202
Alcas,	Sumumaguit,	51
Gelijec,	Ajuiait,	66
Geloo,	Guiguinahuit,	101
Miguigui (dos pueblos),	Yguamaïta, Tenuaquiachet,	210
Casil (is new),	Siesanapauet,	142
La Quemada,	Suigulaiasu,	250
La Gaviota,	Asiquiyaut,	30
El Bulito (Estait),	Tulalu,	68
Sta. Tescas,	Suluguapuyaut,	30
El Cojo Sisilopo,	Cuyayamahuit,	72
Espada,	Siguiguimacita,	12
Pedernales,	Noctó,	12

H.

THE LONE WOMAN OF SAN NICOLAS ISLAND.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century much was written and printed about an Indian woman said to have been rescued from one of the Santa Barbara Channel Islands. We have before us three different versions which agree on the main points, but vary in details. In brief, the story is to the effect that in 1835 the Fathers of Santa Barbara Mission had the *Peor es Nada* (Worse is Nothing), Captain Charles Hubbard, sail over to San Nicolas Island, the farthest from the mainland, in order to bring the islanders to the coast. The weather was stormy when the vessel reached the island. The Indians, about twenty in number, were hurried into the boats, and all speed was made to reach the schooner. In the excitement a child was left behind which the mother supposed had been carried aboard in the arms of a sailor. The frantic mother implored the men to return. The captain, however, replied that he must reach a place of safety, but that later they would go back for the baby. Thereupon, the mother, a widow of about twenty-five years of age, jumped overboard and struck out through the kelpy waters for the island shore. In a moment she was lost in the seething waves. The ship with the affrighted islanders huddled together on deck staggered through the boiling waves and storm, and eventually reached San Pedro. Some of the Indians were sent to Los Angeles, others went to San Gabriel. Captain Hubbard wanted to return to San Nicolas Island, but the ship was in demand on the coast, and so the woman and her babe were forgotten.

Their uncertain fate lay heavy on the kind-hearted Mission Fathers;



STANDING: FR. O'KEEFE, BR. LEO, FR. KILIAN, FR. RAYNER, BR. FAUSTIN, BR. ALOYS.
SEATED: BROS. GOLDBEY, ANT. GALLAGHER, HUGOLIN, IVO, PETER, HARPELIN.

but it was not till 1850 that Fr. González Rúbio found a man, Thomas Jeffries, who for $200 agreed to visit the island and bring over the woman and child. He made the attempt, but found no living being on the island. In the following year, George Nidever of Santa Barbara, a convert to the Catholic Faith, accompanied by Jeffries and a crew of Indians, sailed over to San Nicolas, and remained there six weeks without discovering any trace of the woman. In 1852 another unsuccessful trip was made. In July, 1853, Mr. Nidever made one more attempt in company with Carl Ditman, *alias* Charlie Brown, an Irish cook, and a crew of Mission Indians. This time the woman was discovered, and willingly came along to Santa Barbara, where Nidever had his family care for her in his own house. Whatever her language, no one could be found along the coast who understood her, nor could she make out what was said to her in Spanish or in any of the dialects spoken among the shore Indians. So she managed to make herself understood by means of signs. When discovered she wore a gown made of bird skins and feathers. On shore she enjoyed her new life, and displayed no symptoms of ferocity. She would go around to different homes and dance Indian dances, Mr. Nidever relates. Clothes were her especial delight. Unfortunately, change of diet cut short the life of Juana Maria; for under that name she was conditionally baptized by Father Sanchez, according to Brown. She would doubtless have lived many years, had some caution been exercised with regard to her food; but she was supplied to her heart's content with dainty foods, from which she gradually sickened and died. It was also claimed that Juana Maria after her death found her resting-place in the cemetery of Santa Barbara Mission. Such is the story in brief of the Lone Woman of San Nicolas Island.

Were it not that Mr. Nidever's fame for veracity appears above suspicion, we should declare the whole story a myth, for the reason that, after a close examination of the Baptismal Registers at the Mission and at the Parish Church of Santa Barbara, we failed to discover any entry recording the woman's Baptism in either the Mission or the Parish Church. Likewise, there is no record noted of her burial in the Mission Cemetery.

"That the story is literally true," writes Stephen Bowers in the *Ventura Observer*, December 20, 1892, "there can be no doubt whatever. We received it from Captain Nidever's own lips several years before his death. The writer was personally acquainted with him from 1874 until his death which occurred about 1886. He was much respected in Santa Barbara, where he lived more than fifty years. We never heard his integrity called in question by anyone. . . . The account may also be found in the archives of the Santa Barbara Mission, preserved by the Mission Fathers. We secured a translation of

their record of the event by a competent Spanish scholar fifteen years ago.''

Bancroft corroborates what Mr. Bowers says of Mr. Nidever; but the last statement regarding the presence in the Mission Archives of a paper or document containing the story of the Lone Woman we cannot verify. We found no such account among the numerous papers in the Mission Archives nor anywhere else.

BROTHER PETER HABERLIN, THE LAST SURVIVOR OF FR. SANCHEZ'S NOVICES.

I.

HOW MISSION SANTA BARBARA IMPRESSED A GOD-FEARING METHODIST VISITOR.

"This Mission was founded in 1786, and it is the best preserved of all the old shrines. For more than a century its altar lights have never dimmed, and its stately old towers with deep-voiced bells have looked out upon the blue waters of the Pacific, and their brazen tongues have echoed across the valley and called the neophyte to prayers. A feeling of awe and veneration came over me as I passed from room to room, treading the worn tiled floor deep-rutted by the sandalled feet of those ancient men of God that have long since gone to their reward.

"Room after room we entered filled with relics of bygone days, the air redolent with that musty odor that pervades old sanctuaries, where hand-lettered books of sheepskin reposed side by side with costly vestments, and crude instruments fashioned by the Indians. At last we were ushered through a doorway into the cemetery where repose the dust of the faithful *padres* sleeping side by side with their Indian converts, where the mocking bird sings his vesper hymn above their graves in the moonlight."

Most profoundly was he moved amid these surroundings by the sudden view of the life-size figure of Christ upon the Cross, against a background of green vines.

"I stood like one in a trance," and so, though not a Catholic, he tells us that he left, slowly, sorrowfully, "with greater love for the Son of Man than I had ever known." (*America*, July 22, 1922, p. 336, col. 2, on the impressions of a visit of Mr. W. E. Hutchinson to Santa Barbara Mission, as related in the Methodist *Epworth Herald*.)

J.

A LITERARY GENTLEMAN'S IMPRESSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS.

"There is something wonderfully impressive about a first trip to any of those old gray (mission) churches; everything about it is eloquent with memories of that older civilization which this Western Country knew long before the Celt and the Anglo-Saxon breeds came over the Divide and down the Pacific Slope, filled with their lust for gold and lands, craving ever more power and more territory over which to float the Stars and Stripes.

"There is one Mission which in itself, it seemed to me, is almost worth a trip across the continent to see—the one at Santa Barbara. It is up the side of a gentle foothill, with the mountains of the Coast

Range behind. Down below the roofs and spires of a brisk little city show through green clumpage, and still farther beyond the blue waters of the Pacific may be seen.

"Parts of this Mission are comparatively new; there are retouchings and restorations that date back only sixty or seventy years; but most of it speaks to you of an earlier century than this and an earlier race than the one that now peoples the land. You pass through walls of solid masonry that are sixteen feet thick and pierced by narrow passages; you climb winding stairs to a squat tower where sundry cracked brazen bells swing by withes of ancient rawhide from great, worm-gnawed, hand-riven beams; you walk through the Mission burying-ground, past crumbly old family vaults with half-obliterated names and titles and dates upon their oven-like fronts, and you wander at will among sunken individual graves under the palms and pepper trees.

"Most convincing of all to me were the stone-flagged steps at the door of the church itself, for they are all worn down like the teeth of an old horse—in places they are almost worn in two. Better than any guidebook patter of facts and figures—better than the bells and the graves and the hand-made beams—these steps convey to the mind a sense of age.

"You stand and look at them, and you see there the tally of vanished generations—the heavy boot of the conquistador; the sandaled feet of the old padre; the high heel of a dainty Spanish-born lady; the bare, horny sole of the Indian convert—each of them taking its tiny toll out of stone and mortar—each of them wearing away its infinitesimal mite—until through years and years the firm stone was scored away and channeled out and left as it is now, with curves in it and deep hollows.

"Given a dime's worth of imagination to start on, almost any one could people that spot with the dead-and-gone figures of that shadowy past; could forget the trolley cars curving right up to the walls; the electric lights strung in globular festoons along the ancient ceilings of the porticoes; the roofs of the new, shiny modern bungalows dotting the gentle slopes below—could forget that the brown-cowled, rope-girthed Father who served as guide spoke (mayhap) with a strong German accent; could almost forgive the impious driver of the rig that brought one here for referring to this place as the *Mish.* But be sure there would be one thing to bring you hurtling back again to earth, no matter how far aloft your fancy soared—and that would be the ever-present souvenir-collecting tourist, to whom no shrine is holy and no memory is sacred.

"There is no charge for admission to the Mission. All comers, regardless of breed or creed, are welcomed; and on constant duty is a gentle-voiced priest (or lay-brother), ready to lead the way to the

THE MISSION GARDEN VIEWED FROM THE TOWER. FOUNTAIN IN CENTER. THE WEST WING STILL ONE-STORY, AS WAS THE FRONT WING IN THE EARLY DAYS.

inner rooms where priceless relics of the day when the Spaniards first came to California are displayed; and into the church itself, with its candles burning before the high altar and the quaint old holy pictures ranged thick upon the walls; and through the burying-ground—and to all the rest of it; and for this service there is nothing to pay! On departing the visitor, if he chooses (and appreciates the services of the guide), may leave a coin behind; but he doesn't have to—it isn't compulsory, (only in keeping with the fitness of things).

"There is a kind of traveler who repays this hospitality by defiling the walls with his inconsequential name, scratched in or scrawled on, and by toting away as a souvenir whatever portable object he can confiscate when nobody is looking. Up in the bell tower the masonry is all defaced and pocked where these vandals have dug at it with pocketknives; and as we were coming away, one of them—a typical specimen—showed me with deep pride half of a brick pouched in his coat pocket. It seemed that, while the priest's back was turned, he had pried it loose from the frilled ornamentation of a vault in the burying-ground at the cost only of his self-respect—admitting that he had any of that commodity in stock—and a broken thumbnail. It was, indeed, a priceless treasure and he valued it accordingly." (*Roughing It De Luxe,* by Irvin S. Cobb, pp. 192-198. The parentheses are inserted.)

Most visitors take full advantage of the Franciscan custom of making no charge for admission. They demand the services of the guide, and then depart without as much as "thank you," or with just that much. On one occasion the good lay-brother led a party of seventy-five people around, and all he received in return for patiently answering questions and explaining sights was the sum of *fifteen cents.* Another party of fifteen young people, highly "educated" apparently, except in good manners, hurriedly disappeared without any mark of recognition whatever.

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